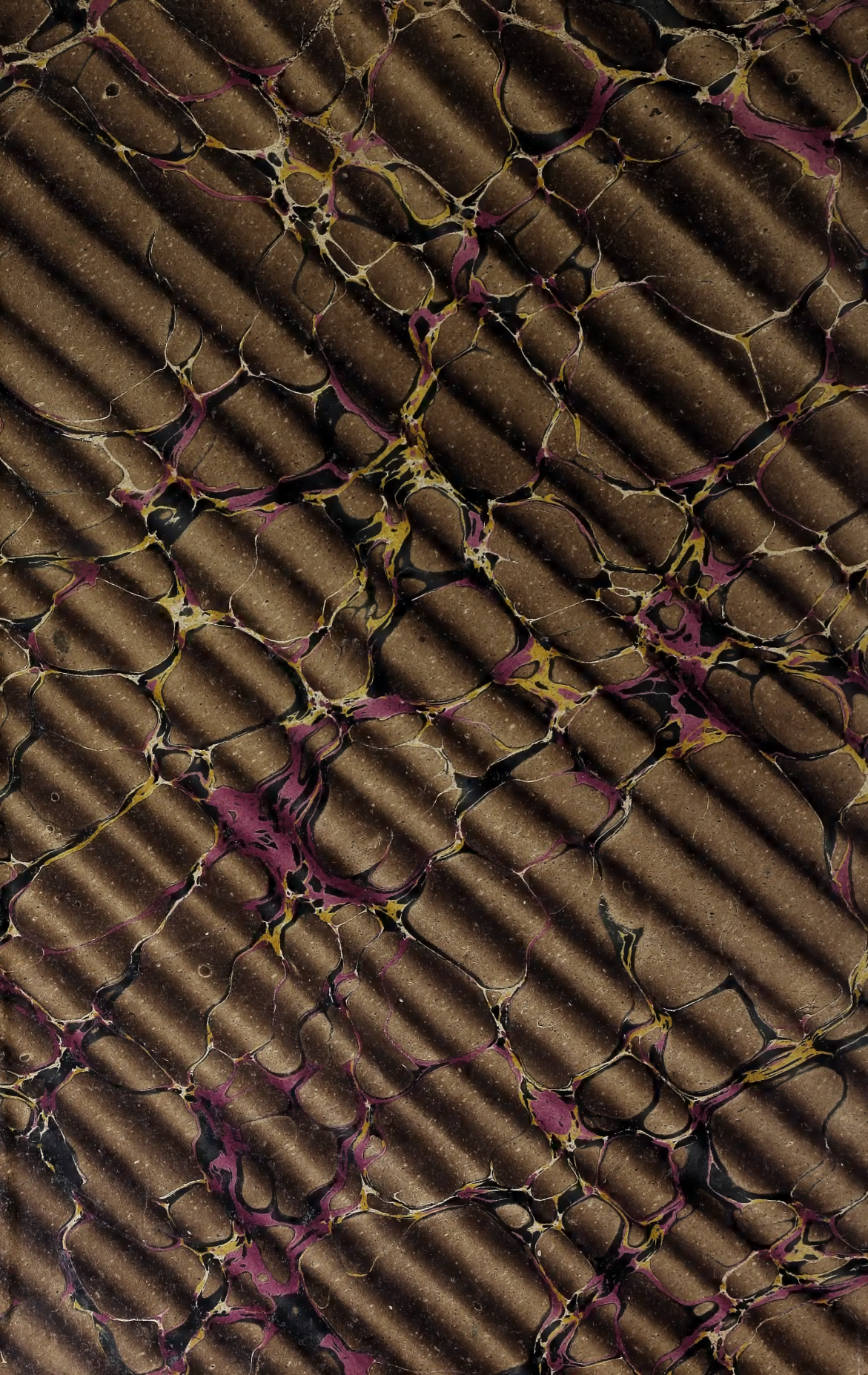

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GIOTTO

AND HIS WORKS IN PADUA.

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GIOTTO

AND HIS WORKS IN PADUA:

BEING

An Explanatory Notice of the Series of Woodcuts

Executed for the Arundel Society

After the Frescoes in the Arena Chapel.

By JOHN RUSKIN.

PRINTED FOR THE ARUNDEL SOCIETY.

1854.

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THE following notice of Giotto has not been drawn up with any idea of attempting a hiſtory of his life. That hiſtory could only be written after a careful ſearch through the libraries of Italy for all documents relating to the years during which he worked. I have no time for ſuch ſearch, or even for the examination of well-known and publiſhed materials; and have therefore merely collected, from the ſources neareſt at hand, ſuch information as appeared abſolutely neceſſary to render the ſeries of Plates now publiſhed by the Arundel Society intelligible and intereſting to thoſe among its Members who have not devoted much time to the examination of mediæval works. I have prefixed a few remarks on the relation of the art of Giotto to former and ſubſequent efforts; which I hope may be uſeful in preventing the general reader from either looking for what the painter never intended to give, or miſſing the points to which his endeavours were really directed.

J. R.

GIOTTO

AND HIS WORKS IN PADUA.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the thirteenth century, Enrico Scrovigno, a noble Paduan, purchaſed, in his native city, the remains of the Roman Amphitheatre or Arena from the family of the Deleſmanini, to whom thoſe remains had been granted by the Emperor Henry III. of Germany in 1090. For the power of making this purchaſe, Scrovigno was in all probability indebted to his father, Reginald, who, for his avarice, is placed by Dante in the ſeventh circle of the *Inferno*, and regarded apparently as the chief of the uſurers there, ſince he is the only one who addreſſes Dante.* The ſon,

* "Noting the viſages of ſome who lay
"Beneath the pelting of that dolorous fire,
"One of them all I knew not; but perceived
"That pendent from his neck each bore a pouch,
"With colours and with emblems various marked,
"On which it ſeemed as if their eye did feed.
"And when amongſt them looking round I came,
"A yellow purſe I ſaw, with azure wrought,
"That wore a lion's countenance and port.

having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Roman ruin, or of the ſite which it had occupied, built himſelf a fortified palace upon the ground, and a chapel dedicated to the Annunciate Virgin.

" Then, ſtill my ſight purſuing its career,
" Another I beheld, than blood more red,
" A gooſe diſplay of whiter wing than curd.
" *And one who bore a fat and azure ſwine*
" *Pictured on his white ſcrip, addreſſed me thus:*
" What doſt thou in this deep? Go now and know,
" Since yet thou liveſt, that my neighbour here,
" Vitaliano, on my left ſhall ſit.
" A Paduan with theſe Florentines am I.
" Ofttimes they thunder in mine ears, exclaiming,
" Oh! haſte that noble knight, he who the pouch
" With the three goats will bring. This ſaid, he writhed
" The mouth, and lolled the tongue out, like an ox
" That licks his noſtrils." *Canto* xvii.

This paſſage of Cary's Dante is not quite ſo clear as that tranſlator's work uſually is. " One of them all I knew not" is an awkward periphraſis for " I knew none of them." Dante's indignant expreſſion of the effect of avarice in withering away diſtinctions of character, and the prophecy of Scrovigno, that his neighbour Vitaliano, then living, ſhould ſoon be with him, to ſit on his left hand, is rendered a little obſcure by the tranſpoſition of the word " here." Cary has alſo been afraid of the exceſſive homelineſs of Dante's imagery; " whiter wing than curd" being in the original " whiter than butter." The attachment of the purſe to the neck, as a badge of ſhame, in the Inferno, is found before Dante's time; as, for inſtance, in the windows of Bourges cathedral (ſee Plate iii. of MM. Martin and Cahier's beautiful work). And the building of the Arena Chapel by the ſon, as a kind of atonement for the avarice of the father, is very characteriſtic of the period, in which the uſe of money for the building of churches was conſidered juſt as meritorious as its unjuſt accumulation was criminal. I have ſeen, in a MS. Church-ſervice of the thirteenth century, an illumination repreſenting Church-Conſecration, illuſtrating the words, " Fundata eſt domus Domini ſupra verticem montium," ſurrounded, for the purpoſe of contraſt, by a groteſque, conſiſting of a picture of a miſer's death-bed, a demon drawing his ſoul out of his mouth, while his attendants are ſearching in his cheſts for his treaſures.

This chapel, built in or about the year 1303,* appears to have been intended to replace one which had long exiſted on the ſpot; and in which, from the year 1278, an annual feſtival had been held on Lady-day, in which the Annunciation was repreſented in the manner of our Engliſh myſteries (and under the ſame title: "una ſacra rappreſentazione di quel *miſtero*"), with dialogue, and music both vocal and inſtrumental. Scrovegno's purchaſe of the ground could not be allowed to interfere with the national cuſtom; but he is reported by ſome writers to have rebuilt the chapel with greater coſtlineſs, in order, as far as poſſible, to efface the memory of his father's unhappy life. But Federici, in his hiſtory of the Cavalieri Godenti, ſuppoſes that Scrovegno was a member of that body, and was aſſiſted by them in decorating the new edifice. The order of Cavalieri Godenti was inſtituted in the beginning of the thirteenth century, to defend the "exiſtence," as Selvatico ſtates it, but more accurately the dignity, of the Virgin, againſt the various heretics by whom it was beginning to be aſſailed. Her knights were first called Cavaliers of St. Mary; but ſoon increaſed in power and riches to ſuch a degree, that, from their general habits of life, they received the nickname of the "Merry Brothers." Federici gives forcible reaſons for his opinion that the Arena Chapel was employed in the ceremonies of their order; and Lord Lindſay obſerves, that the fulneſs with which the hiſtory of the Virgin is recounted on its walls, adds to the plauſibility of his ſuppoſition.

* For theſe hiſtorical details I am chiefly indebted to the very careful treatiſe of Selvatico, *Sulla Cappellina degli Scrovegni nell' Arena di Padova.* Padua, 1836.

Enrico Scrovegno was, however, towards the cloſe of his life, driven into exile, and died at Venice in 1320. But he was buried in the chapel he had built; and has one ſmall monument in the ſacriſty, as the founder of the building, in which he is repreſented under a Gothic niche, ſtanding, with his hands claſped and his eyes raiſed; while behind the altar is his tomb, on which, as uſual at the period, is a recumbent ſtatue of him. The chapel itſelf may not unwarrantably be conſidered as one of the firſt efforts of Popery in reſiſtance of the Reformation: for the Reformation, though not victorious till the ſixteenth, began in reality in the thirteenth century; and the remonſtrances of ſuch biſhops as our own Groſſteſte, the martyrdoms of the Albigenſes in the Dominican cruſades, and the murmurs of thoſe "heretics" againſt whoſe aſperſions of the majeſty of the Virgin this chivalrous order of the Cavalieri Godenti was inſtituted, were as truly the ſigns of the approach of a new era in religion, as the opponent work of Giotto on the walls of the Arena was a ſign of the approach of a new era in art.

The chapel having been founded, as ſtated above, in 1303, Giotto appears to have been ſummoned to decorate its interior walls about the year 1306, — ſummoned, as being at that time the acknowledged maſter of painting in Italy. By what ſteps he had riſen to this unqueſtioned eminence it is difficult to trace; for the records of his life, ſtrictly examined, and freed from the verbiage and conjecture of artiſtical hiſtory, nearly reduce themſelves to a liſt of the cities of Italy where he painted, and to a few anecdotes, of little meaning in themſelves, and doubly pointleſs

in the fact of moſt of them being inheritances of the whole race of painters, and related ſucceſſively of all in whoſe biographies the public have deigned to take an intereſt. There is even queſtion as to the date of his birth; Vaſari ſtating him to have been born in 1276, while Baldinucci, on the internal evidence derived from Vaſari's own narrative, throws the date back ten years.* I believe, however, that Vaſari is moſt probably accurate in his firſt main ſtatement; and that his errors, always numerous, are in the subſequent and minor particulars. It is at leaſt undoubted truth that Giotto was born, and paſſed the years of childhood, at Veſpignano, about fourteen miles north of Florence, on the road to Bologna. Few travellers can forget the peculiar landſcape of that diſtrict of the Apennine. As they aſcend the hill which riſes from Florence to the loweſt break in the ridge of Fieſole, they paſs continually beneath the walls of villas bright in perfect luxury, and beſide cypreſs-hedges, encloſing fair terraced gardens, where the maſſes of oleander and magnolia, motionleſs as leaves in a picture, inlay alternately upon the blue sky their branching lightneſs of pale roſe-colour, and deep green breadth of ſhade, ſtudded with balls of budding ſilver, and ſhowing at intervals through their framework of rich leaf and rubied flower, the far-away bends of the Arno beneath its ſlopes of olive, and the purple peaks of the Carrara mountains, toſſing themſelves againſt the weſtern diſtance, where the ſtreaks of motionleſs clouds burn above the Piſan ſea. The traveller paſſes the Fiesolan ridge, and all is changed. The country is on a ſudden lonely. Here

* Lord Lindſay, *Chriſtian Art*, vol. ii. p. 166.

and there indeed are ſeen the ſcattered houſes of a farm grouped gracefully upon the hill-ſides,—here and there a fragment of tower upon a diſtant rock; but neither gardens, nor flowers, nor glittering palace-walls, only a grey extent of mountain-ground, tufted irregularly with ilex and olive: a ſcene not ſublime, for its forms are ſubdued and low; not deſolate, for its valleys are full of ſown fields and tended paſtures; not rich nor lovely, but ſunburnt and ſorrowful; becoming wilder every inſtant as the road winds into its receſſes, aſcending still, until the higher woods, now partly oak and partly pine, drooping back from the central creſt of the Apennine, leave a paſtoral wilderneſs of ſcathed rock and arid graſs, withered away here by froſt, and there by ſtrange lambent tongues of earth-fed fire.* Giotto paſſed the firſt ten years of his life, a ſhepherd-boy, among theſe hills; was found by Cimabue, near his native village, drawing one of his ſheep upon a ſmooth ſtone; was yielded up by his father, "a ſimple perſon, a labourer of the earth," to the guardianſhip of the painter, who, by his own work, had already made the ſtreets of Florence ring with joy; attended him to Florence, and became his diſciple.

We may fancy the glance of the boy, when he and Cimabue ſtood ſide by ſide on the ridge of Fieſole, and for the firſt time he ſaw the flowering thickets of the Val d'Arno; and deep beneath, the innumerable towers of the City of the Lily, the depths of his own heart yet hiding

* At Pietra Mala. The flames riſe two or three feet above the ſtony ground out of which they ſpring, white and fierce enough to be viſible in the intenſe rays even of the morning ſun.

the faireſt of them all. Another ten years paſſed over him, and he was choſen from among the painters of Italy to decorate the Vatican.

The account given us by Vaſari of the mode of his competition on this occaſion, is one of the few anecdotes of him which ſeem to be authentic (eſpecially as having given riſe to an Italian proverb), and it has alſo great point and value. I tranſlate Vaſari's words literally.

"This work (his paintings in the Campo Santo of "Piſa) acquired for him, both in the city and externally, "ſo much fame, that the Pope Benedict IX. ſent a certain "one of his courtiers into Tuſcany, to ſee what ſort of a "man Giotto was, and what was the quality of his works, "he (the pope) intending to have ſome paintings executed "in St. Peter's; which courtier, coming to ſee Giotto, "and hearing that there were other maſters in Florence "who excelled in painting and in moſaic, ſpoke, in Siena, "to many maſters; then, having received drawings from "them, he came to Florence; and having gone one morn-"ing into Giotto's ſhop as he was at work, explained the "pope's mind to him, and in what way he wiſhed to "avail himſelf of his powers, and finally requeſted from "him a little piece of drawing to ſend to his Holineſs. "Giotto, who was moſt courteous, took a leaf (of vellum?), "and upon this, with a bruſh dipped in red, fixing his "arm to his ſide, to make it as the limb of a pair of com-"paſſes, and turning his hand, made a circle ſo perfect in "meaſure and outline, that it was a wonder to ſee: which "having done, he ſaid to the courtier, with a ſmile, 'There "is the drawing.' He, thinking himſelf mocked, ſaid,

" 'Shall I have no other drawing than this?' 'This is " enough, and too much,' anſwered Giotto; 'ſend it with " the others: you will ſee if it will be underſtood.' The " ambaſſador, ſeeing that he could not get any thing elſe, " took his leave with ſmall ſatisfaction, doubting whether " he had not been made a jeſt of. However, when he " ſent to the pope the other drawings, and the names of " thoſe who had made them, he ſent alſo that of Giotto, " relating the way in which he had held himſelf in draw- " ing his circle, without moving his arm, and without " compaſſes. Whence the pope, and many intelligent " courtiers, knew how much Giotto overpaſſed in excel- " lence all the other painters of his time. Afterwards, " the thing becoming known, the proverb aroſe from it: " 'Thou art rounder than the O of Giotto;' which it is " ſtill in cuſtom to ſay to men of the groſſer clay; for the " proverb is pretty, not only on account of the accident of " its origin, but becauſe it has a double meaning, 'round' " being taken in Tuſcany to expreſs not only circular form, " but ſlowneſs and groſſneſs of wit."

Such is the account of Vaſari, which, at the firſt reading, might be gravely called into queſtion, ſeeing that the paintings at Piſa, to which he aſcribes the ſudden extent of Giotto's reputation, have been proved to be the work of Franceſco da Volterra;* and ſince, moreover, Vaſari has even miſtaken the name of the pope, and written Boniface IX. for Boniface VIII. But the ſtory itſelf muſt, I think, be true; and, rightly underſtood, it is ſingularly intereſting.

* At leaſt Lord Lindſay ſeems to conſider the evidence collected by Förſter on this ſubject concluſive. *Chriſtian Art*, vol. ii. p. 168.

I ſay, rightly underſtood; for Lord Lindſay ſuppoſes the circle to have been mechanically drawn by turning the ſheet of vellum under the hand, as now conſtantly done for the ſake of ſpeed at ſchools. But neither do Vaſari's words bear this conſtruction, nor would the drawing ſo made have borne the ſlighteſt teſtimony to Giotto's power. Vaſari ſays diſtinctly, "and turning his hand" (or, as I ſhould rather read it, "with a ſweep of his hand"), not "turning the vellum;" neither would a circle produced in ſo mechanical a manner have borne diſtinct witneſs to any thing except the draughtſman's mechanical ingenuity; and Giotto had too much common ſenſe, and too much courteſy, to ſend the pope a drawing which did not really contain the evidence he required. Lord Lindſay has been miſled alſo by his own careleſs tranſlation of "pennello tinto di roſſo" ("a *bruſh* dipped in red,") by the word "crayon." It is eaſy to draw the mechanical circle with a crayon, but by no means eaſy with a bruſh. I have not the ſlighteſt doubt that Giotto drew the circle as a painter naturally would draw it; that is to ſay, that he ſet the vellum upright on the wall or panel before him, and then ſteadying his arm firmly againſt his ſide, drew the circular line with one ſweeping but firm revolution of his hand, holding the bruſh long. Such a feat as this is completely poſſible to a well-diſciplined painter's hand, but utterly impoſſible to any other; and the circle ſo drawn was the moſt convincing proof Giotto could give of his deciſion of eye and perfectneſs of practice.

Still, even when thus underſtood, there is much in the anecdote very curious. Here is a painter requeſted by the

head of the Church to execute certain religious paintings, and the only qualification for the taſk of which he deigns to demonſtrate his poſſeſſion is executive ſkill. Nothing is ſaid, and nothing appears to be thought, of expreſſion, or invention, or devotional ſentiment. Nothing is required but firmneſs of hand. And here ariſes the important queſtion: Did Giotto know that this was all that was looked for by his religious patrons? and is there occult ſatire in the example of his art which he ſends them?—or does the founder of ſacred painting mean to tell us that he holds his own power to conſiſt merely in firmneſs of hand, ſecured by long practice? I cannot ſatisfy myſelf on this point: but yet it ſeems to me that we may ſafely gather two concluſions from the words of the maſter, "It is enough, and more than enough." The firſt, that Giotto had indeed a profound feeling of the value of *preciſion* in all art; and that we may uſe the full force of his authority to preſs the truth, of which it is ſo difficult to perſuade the haſty workmen of modern times, that the difference between right and wrong lies within the breadth of a line; and that the moſt perfect power and genius are ſhown by the accuracy which diſdains error, and the faithfulneſs which fears it.

And the ſecond concluſion is, that whatever Giotto's imaginative powers might be, he was proud to be a good *workman*, and willing to be conſidered by others only as ſuch. There might lurk, as has been ſuggeſted, ſome ſatire in the meſſage to the pope, and ſome conſciouſneſs in his own mind of faculties higher than thoſe of draughtſmanſhip. I cannot tell how far theſe hidden feelings ex-

iſted; but the more I ſee of living artiſts, and learn of departed ones, the more I am convinced that the higheſt ſtrength of genius is generally marked by ſtrange unconſciouſneſs of its own modes of operation, and often by no ſmall ſcorn of the beſt reſults of its exertion. The inferior mind intently watches its own proceſſes, and dearly values its own produce; the maſter-mind is intent on other things than itſelf, and cares little for the fruits of a toil which it is apt to undertake rather as a law of life than a means of immortality. It will ſing at a feaſt, or retouch an old play, or paint a dark wall, for its daily bread, anxious only to be honeſt in its fulfilment of its pledges or its duty, and careleſs that future ages will rank it among the gods.

I think it unneceſſary to repeat here any other of the anecdotes commonly related of Giotto, as, ſeparately taken, they are quite valueleſs. Yet much may be gathered from their general *tone*. It is remarkable that they are, almoſt without exception, records of good-humoured jeſts, involving or illuſtrating ſome point of practical good ſenſe: and by comparing this general colour of the reputation of Giotto with the actual character of his deſigns, there cannot remain the ſmalleſt doubt that his mind was one of the moſt healthy, kind, and active, that ever informed a human frame. His love of beauty was entirely free from weakneſs; his love of truth untinged by ſeverity; his induſtry conſtant, without impatience; his workmanſhip accurate, without formaliſm; his temper ſerene, and yet playful; his imagination exhauſtleſs, without extravagance; and his faith firm, without ſuperſtition. I do not know,

in the annals of art, ſuch another example of happy, practical, unerring, and benevolent power.

I am certain that this is the eſtimate of his character which muſt be arrived at by an attentive ſtudy of his works, and of the few data which remain reſpecting his life; but I ſhall not here endeavour to give proof of its truth, becauſe I believe the ſubject has been exhauſtively treated by Rumohr and Förſter, whoſe eſſays on the works and character of Giotto will doubtleſs be tranſlated into Engliſh, as the intereſt of the Engliſh public in mediæval art increaſes. I ſhall therefore here only endeavour briefly to ſketch the relation which Giotto held to the artiſts who preceded and followed him, a relation ſtill imperfectly underſtood; and then, as briefly, to indicate the general courſe of his labours in Italy, as far as may be neceſſary for underſtanding the value of the ſeries in the Arena Chapel.

The art of Europe, between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, divides itſelf eſſentially into two great branches, one ſpringing from, the other grafted on, the old Roman ſtock. The firſt is the Roman art itſelf, prolonged in a languid and degraded condition, and becoming at laſt a mere formal ſyſtem, centered at the ſeat of Eaſtern empire, and thence generally called Byzantine. The other is the barbarous and incipient art of the Gothic nations, more or leſs coloured by Roman or Byzantine influence, and gradually increaſing in life and power.

Generally ſpeaking, the Byzantine art, although manifeſting itſelf only in perpetual repetitions, becoming every day more cold and formal, yet preſerved reminiſcences of

deſign originally noble, and traditions of execution originally perfect.

Generally ſpeaking, the Gothic art, although becoming every day more powerful, preſented the moſt ludicrous experiments of infantile imagination, and the most rude efforts of untaught manipulation.

Hence, if any ſuperior mind aroſe in Byzantine art, it had before it models which ſuggeſted or recorded a perfection they did not themſelves poſſeſs; and the ſuperiority of the individual mind would probably be ſhown in a more ſincere and living treatment of the ſubjects ordained for repetition by the canons of the ſchools.

In the art of the Goth, the choice of ſubject was unlimited, and the ſtyle of deſign ſo remote from all perfection, as not always even to point out clearly the direction in which advance could be made. The ſtrongeſt minds which appear in that art are therefore generally manifeſted by redundance of imagination, and ſudden refinement of touch, whether of pencil or chiſel, together with unexpected ſtarts of effort or flaſhes of knowledge in accidental directions, gradually forming various national ſtyles.

Of theſe comparatively independent branches of art, the greateſt is, as far as I know, the French ſculpture of the thirteenth century. No words can give any idea of the magnificent redundance of its imaginative power, or of the perpetual beauty of even its ſmalleſt incidental deſigns. But this very richneſs of ſculptural invention prevented the French from cultivating their powers of painting, except in illumination (of which art they were the acknowledged maſters), and in glaſs-painting. Their

exquiſite gift of fretting their ſtone-work with inexhauſtible wealth of ſculpture, prevented their feeling the need of figure-deſign on coloured ſurfaces.

The ſtyle of architecture prevalent in Italy at the ſame period, preſented, on the contrary, large blank ſurfaces, which could only be rendered intereſting by covering them with moſaic or painting.

The Italians were not at the time capable of doing this for themſelves, and moſaiciſts were brought from Conſtantinople, who covered the churches of Italy with a ſublime monotony of Byzantine traditions. But the Gothic blood was burning in the Italian veins; and the Florentines and Piſans could not reſt content in the formaliſm of the Eaſtern ſplendour. The firſt innovator was, I believe, Giunta of Piſa, the ſecond Cimabue, the third Giotto; the laſt only being a man of power enough to effect a complete revolution in the artiſtic principles of his time.

He, however, began, like his maſter Cimabue, with a perfect reſpect for his Byzantine models; and his paintings for a long time conſiſted only of repetitions of the Byzantine ſubjects, ſoftened in treatment, enriched in number of figures, and enlivened in geſture. Afterwards he invented ſubjects of his own. The manner and degree of the changes which he at firſt effected could only be properly underſtood by actual compariſon of his deſigns with the Byzantine originals;* but in default of the means of ſuch

* It might not, I think, be a work unworthy of the Arundel Society, to collect and engrave in outline the complete ſeries of theſe Byzantine originals of the ſubjects of the Arena Chapel, in order to facilitate this compariſon. The Greek MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum would, I think, be amply ſufficient; the Harleian MS. numbered

a compariſon, it may be generally ſtated that the innovations of Giotto conſiſted in the introduction, A, of gayer or lighter colours; B, of broader maſſes; and, C, of more careful imitation of nature than exiſted in the works of his predeceſſors.

A. *Greater lightneſs of colour.* This was partly in compliance with a tendency which was beginning to manifeſt itſelf even before Giotto's time. Over the whole of northern Europe, the colouring of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries had been pale: in manuſcripts, principally compoſed of pale red, green, and yellow, blue being ſparingly introduced (earlier ſtill, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the letters had often been coloured with black and yellow only). Then, in the cloſe of the twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century, the great ſyſtem of perfect colour was in uſe; ſolemn and deep; compoſed ſtrictly, in all its leading maſſes, of the colours revealed by God from Sinai as the nobleſt;—blue, purple, and ſcarlet, with gold (other hues, chiefly green, with white and black, being uſed in points or ſmall maſſes, to relieve the main colours). In the early part of the fourteenth century the colours begin to grow paler; about 1330 the ſtyle is already completely modified; and at the cloſe of the fourteenth century the colour is quite pale and delicate.

I have not carefully examined the colouring of early Byzantine work; but it ſeems always to have been com-

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1810 alone furniſhing a conſiderable number of ſubjects, and eſpecially a Death of the Virgin, with the St. John thrown into the peculiar and violent geſture of grief afterwards adopted by Giotto in the Entombment of the Arena Chapel.

paratively dark, and in manuſcripts is remarkably ſo; Giotto's paler colouring, therefore, though only part of the great European ſyſtem, was rendered notable by its ſtronger contraſt with the Byzantine examples.

B. *Greater breadth of maſs.* It had been the habit of the Byzantines to break up their draperies by a large number of minute folds. Norman and Romaneſque ſculpture ſhowed much of the ſame character. Giotto melted all theſe folds into broad maſſes of colour; ſo that his compoſitions have ſometimes almoſt a Titianeſque look in this particular. This innovation was a healthy one, and led to very noble reſults when followed up by ſucceeding artiſts: but in many of Giotto's compoſitions the figures become ludicrouſly cumbrous, from the exceeding ſimplicity of the terminal lines, and maſſiveneſs of unbroken form. The manner was copied in illuminated manuscripts with great diſadvantage, as it was unfavourable to minute ornamentation. The French never adopted it in either branch of art, nor did any other Northern ſchool; minute and ſharp folds of the robes remaining characteriſtic of Northern (more eſpecially of Flemiſh and German) deſign down to the lateſt times, giving a great ſuperiority to the French and Flemiſh illuminated work, and cauſing a proportionate inferiority in their large pictorial efforts. Even Rubens and Vandyke cannot free themſelves from a certain meanneſs and minuteneſs in diſpoſition of drapery.

C. *Cloſe imitation of nature.* In this one principle lay Giotto's great ſtrength, and the entire ſecret of the revolution he effected. It was not by greater learning, not by the diſcovery of new theories of art, not by greater taſte,

nor by "ideal" principles of ſelection, that he became the head of the progreſſive ſchools of Italy. It was ſimply by being intereſted in what was going on around him, by ſubſtituting the geſtures of living men for conventional attitudes, and portraits of living men for conventional faces, and incidents of every-day life for conventional circumſtances, that he became great, and the maſter of the great. Giotto was to his contemporaries preciſely what Millais is to *his* contemporaries,—a daring naturaliſt, in defiance of tradition, idealiſm, and formaliſm. The Giotteſque movement in the fourteenth, and Pre-Raphaelite movement in the nineteenth centuries, are preciſely ſimilar in bearing and meaning: both being the proteſts of vitality againſt mortality, of ſpirit againſt letter, and of truth againſt tradition: and both, which is the more ſingular, literally links in one unbroken chain of feeling; for exactly as Niccola Piſano and Giotto were helped by the claſſical ſculptures diſcovered in their time, the Pre-Raphaelites have been helped by the works of Niccola and Giotto at Piſa and Florence: and thus the fiery croſs of truth has been delivered from ſpirit to ſpirit, over the duſt of intervening generations.

But what, it may be ſaid by the reader, is the uſe of the works of Giotto to *us?* They may indeed have been wonderful for their time, and of infinite uſe in that time; but ſince, after Giotto, came Leonardo and Correggio, what is the uſe of going back to the ruder art, and republiſhing it in the year 1854? Why ſhould we fret ourſelves to dig down to the root of the tree, when we may at once enjoy its fruit and foliage? I anſwer, firſt, that in all matters relating

to human intellect, it is a great thing to have hold of the root: that at leaſt we ought to ſee it, and taſte it, and handle it; for it often happens that the root is wholeſome when the leaves, however fair, are uſeleſs or poiſonous. In nine caſes out of ten, the firſt expreſſion of an idea is the moſt valuable: the idea may afterwards be poliſhed and ſoftened, and made more attractive to the general eye; but the firſt expreſſion of it has a freſhneſs and brightneſs, like the flaſh of a native cryſtal compared to the luſtre of glaſs that has been melted and cut. And in the ſecond place, we ought to meaſure the value of art leſs by its executive than by its moral power. Giotto was not indeed one of the moſt accompliſhed painters, but he was one of the greateſt men, who ever lived. He was the firſt maſter of his time, in architecture as well as in painting; he was the friend of Dante, and the undiſputed interpreter of religious truth, by means of painting, over the whole of Italy. The works of ſuch a man may not be the beſt to ſet before children in order to teach them drawing; but they aſſuredly ſhould be ſtudied with the greateſt care by all who are intereſted in the hiſtory of the human mind.

One point more remains to be noticed reſpecting him. As far as I am aware, he never painted profane ſubjects. All his important exiſting works are excluſively devoted to the illuſtration of Chriſtianity. This was not a reſult of his own peculiar feeling or determination; it was a neceſſity of the period. Giotto appears to have conſidered himſelf ſimply as a workman, at the command of any employer, for any kind of work, however humble. " In the ſixty-third " novel of Franco Sacchetti we read that a ſtranger, ſuddenly

" entering Giotto's ſtudy, threw down a ſhield, and departed,
" ſaying, ' Paint me my arms on that ſhield.' Giotto look-
" ing after him, exclaimed, ' Who is he? what is he? He
" ſays, ' Paint me my arms,' as if he was one of the BARDI.
" What arms does he bear?' "* But at the time of Giotto's eminence, art was never employed on a great ſcale except in the ſervice of religion; nor has it ever been otherwiſe employed, except in declining periods. I do not mean to draw any ſevere concluſion from this fact; but it is a fact nevertheleſs, which ought to be very diſtinctly ſtated, and very carefully conſidered. All *progreſſive* art hitherto has been religious art; and commencements of the periods of decline are accurately marked, in illumination, by its employment on romances inſtead of pſalters; and in painting, by its employment on mythology or profane hiſtory inſtead of ſacred hiſtory. Yet perhaps I ſhould rather have ſaid, on *heathen mythology* inſtead of *Chriſtian mythology;* for this latter term—firſt uſed, I believe, by Lord Lindſay—is more applicable to the ſubjects of the early painters than that of " ſacred *hiſtory*." Of all the virtues commonly found in the higher orders of human mind, that of a ſtern and juſt reſpect for truth ſeems to be the rareſt; ſo that while ſelf-denial, and courage, and charity, and religious zeal, are diſplayed in their utmoſt degrees by myriads of ſaints and heroes, it is only once in a century that a man appears whoſe word may be implicitly truſted, and who, in the relation of a plain fact, will not allow his prejudices or his pleaſure to tempt him to ſome colouring or diſtortion of it. Hence the portions of ſacred hiſtory

* Notes to Rogers' *Italy*.

which have been the conſtant ſubjects of fond popular contemplation have, in the lapſe of ages, been encumbered with fictitious detail; and their various hiſtorians ſeem to have conſidered the exerciſe of their imagination innocent, and even meritorious, if they could increaſe either the vividneſs of conception or the ſincerity of belief in their readers. A due conſideration of that well-known weakneſs of the popular mind, which renders a ſtatement credible in proportion to the multitude of local and circumſtantial details which accompany it, may lead us to look with ſome indulgence on the errors, however fatal in their iſſue to the cauſe they were intended to advance, of thoſe weak teachers, who thought the acceptance of their general ſtatements of Chriſtian doctrine cheaply won by the help of ſome ſimple (and generally abſurd) inventions of detail reſpecting the life of the Virgin or the Apoſtles.

Indeed, I can hardly imagine the Bible to be ever read with true intereſt, unleſs, in our reading, we feel ſome longing for further knowledge of the minute incidents of the life of Chriſt,—for ſome records of thoſe things, which "if they had been written every one," the world could not have contained the books that ſhould be written: and they who have once felt this thirſt for further truth, may ſurely both conceive and pardon the earneſt queſtioning of ſimple diſciples (who knew not, as we do, how much had been indeed revealed), and meaſure with ſome juſtice the ſtrength of the temptation which betrayed theſe teachers into adding to the word of Revelation. Together with this ſpecious and ſubtle influence, we muſt allow for the inſtinct of imagination exerting itſelf in the acknowledged

embelliſhment of beloved truths. If we reflect how much, even in this age of accurate knowledge, the viſions of Milton have become confuſed in the minds of many perſons with ſcriptural facts, we ſhall rather be ſurpriſed, that in an age of legends ſo little ſhould be added to the Bible, than that occaſionally we ſhould be informed of important circumſtances in ſacred hiſtory with the collateral warning, "This Moſes ſpak not of."*

More eſpecially in the domain of painting, it is ſurpriſing to ſee how ſtrictly the early workmen confined themſelves to repreſentations of the ſame ſeries of ſcenes; how little of pictorial embelliſhment they uſually added; and how, even in the poſitions and geſtures of figures, they ſtrove to give the idea rather of their having ſeen the *fact*, than imagined a pictureſque treatment of it. Often, in examining early art, we miſtake conſcientiouſneſs for ſervility, and attribute to the abſence of invention what was indeed the reſult of the earneſtneſs of faith.

Nor, in a merely artiſtical point of view, is it leſs important to note, that the greateſt advance in power was made when painters had few ſubjects to treat. The day has perhaps come when genius ſhould be ſhown in the diſcovery of perpetually various intereſt amidſt the incidents of actual life; and the abſence of inventive capacity is very aſſuredly proved by the narrow ſelection of ſubjects which commonly appear on the walls of our exhibitions. But yet it is to be always remembered, that more originality may

* Theſe words are gravely added to ſome ſingular particulars reſpecting the life of Adam, related in a MS. of the ſixteenth century preſerved in the Heralds' College.

be ſhown in giving intereſt to a well-known ſubject than in diſcovering a new one; that the greateſt poets whom the world has ſeen have been contented to retouch and exalt the creations of their predeceſſors; and that the painters of the middle ages reached their utmoſt power by unweariedly treading a narrow circle of ſacred ſubjects.

Nothing is indeed more notable in the hiſtory of art than the exact balance of its point of excellence, in all things, midway between ſervitude and licenſe. Thus, in choice and treatment of ſubject, it became paralyſed among the Byzantines, by being mercileſsly confined to a given ſeries of ſcenes, and to a given mode of repreſenting them. Giotto gave it partial liberty and incipient life; by the artiſts who ſucceeded him the range of its ſcenery was continually extended, and the ſeverity of its ſtyle ſlowly ſoftened to perfection. But the range was ſtill, in ſome degree, limited by the neceſſity of its continual ſubordination to religious purpoſes; and the ſtyle, though ſoftened, was ſtill chaſte, and though tender, ſelf-reſtrained. At laſt came the period of licenſe: the artiſt choſe his ſubjects from the loweſt ſcenes of human life, and let looſe his paſſions in their portraiture. And the kingdom of art paſſed away.

As if to direct us to the obſervation of this great law, there is a curious viſible type of it in the progreſs of ornamentation in manuſcripts, correſponding with the various changes in the higher branch of art. In the courſe of the 12th and early 13th centuries, the ornamentation, though often full of high feeling and fantaſy, is ſternly encloſed within limiting border-lines;—at firſt, ſevere ſquares, oblongs, or triangles. As the grace of the ornamentation

advances, theſe border-lines are ſoftened and broken into various curves, and the inner deſign begins here and there to overpaſs them. Gradually this emergence becomes more conſtant, and the lines which thus eſcape throw themſelves into curvatures expreſſive of the moſt exquiſite concurrence of freedom with ſelf-reſtraint. At length the reſtraint vaniſhes, the freedom changes conſequently into licenſe, and the page is covered with exuberant, irregular, and fooliſh extravagances of leafage and line.

It only remains to be noticed, that the circumſtances of the time at which Giotto appeared were peculiarly favourable to the development of genius; owing partly to the ſimplicity of the methods of practice, and partly to the naïveté with which art was commonly regarded. Giotto, like all the great painters of the period, was merely a travelling decorator of walls, at so much a day; having at Florence a *bottega*, or workſhop, for the production and ſale of ſmall tempera pictures. There were no ſuch things as "ſtudios" in thoſe days. An artiſt's "ſtudies" were over by the time he was eighteen; after that he was a *lavoratore*, "labourer," a man who knew his buſineſs, and produced certain works of known value for a known price; being troubled with no philoſophical abſtractions, ſhutting himſelf up in no wiſe for the reception of inſpirations; receiving, indeed, a good many, as a matter of courſe,—juſt as he received the ſunbeams which came in at his window, the light which he worked by;—in either caſe, without mouthing about it, or much concerning himſelf as to the nature of it. Not troubled by critics either; ſatisfied that his work was well done, and that people would find it out to be well done;

but not vain of it, nor more profoundly vexed at its being found fault with, than a good ſaddler would be by ſome one's ſaying his laſt ſaddle was uneaſy in the ſeat. Not, on the whole, much moleſted by critics, but generally underſtood by the men of ſenſe, his neighbours and friends, and permitted to have his own way with the walls he had to paint, as being, on the whole, an authority about walls; receiving at the ſame time a good deal of daily encouragement and comfort in the ſimple admiration of the populace, and in the general ſenſe of having done good, and painted what no man could look upon without being the better for it.

Thus he went, a ſerene labourer, throughout the length and breadth of Italy. For the firſt ten years of his life, a ſhepherd; then a ſtudent, perhaps for five or ſix; then already in Florence, ſetting himſelf to his life's taſk; and called as a maſter to Rome when he was only twenty. There he painted the principal chapel of St. Peter's, and worked in moſaic alſo; no handicrafts, that had colour or form for their objects, ſeeming unknown to him. Then returning to Florence, he painted Dante, about the year 1300,* the 35th year of Dante's life, the 24th of his own; and deſigned the façade of the Duomo, on the death of its former architect, Arnolfo. Some ſix years afterwards he went to Padua, there painting the chapel which is the ſubject of our preſent ſtudy, and many other churches. Thence ſouth

* Lord Lindſay's evidence on this point (*Chriſtian Art*, vol. ii. p. 174) ſeems quite concluſive. It is impoſſible to overrate the value of the work of Giotto in the Bargello, both for its own intrinſic beauty, and as being executed in this year, which is not only that in which the Divina Commedia opens, but, as I think, the culminating period in the hiſtory of the art of the middle ages.

again, to Aſſiſi, where he painted half the walls and vaults of the great convent that ſtretches itſelf along the ſlopes of the Perugian hills, and various other minor works on his way there and back to Florence. Staying in his native city but a little while, he engaged himſelf in other taſks at Ferrara, Verona, and Ravenna, and at laſt at Avignon, where he became acquainted with Petrarch—working there for ſome three years, from 1324 to 1327;* and then paſſed rapidly through Florence and Orvieto on his way to Naples, where "he received the kindeſt welcome from the good king "Robert. The king, ever partial to men of mind and "genius, took eſpecial delight in Giotto's ſociety, and uſed "frequently to viſit him while working in the Caſtello "dell' Uovo, taking pleaſure in watching his pencil and "liſtening to his diſcourſe; 'and Giotto,' ſays Vaſari, 'who "had ever his repartee and bon-mot ready, held him there, "faſcinated at once with the magic of his pencil and plea-"ſantry of his tongue.' We are not told the length of his "ſojourn at Naples, but it muſt have been for a conſiderable "period, judging from the quantity of works he executed "there. He had certainly returned to Florence in 1332." There he was immediately appointed "chief maſter" of the works of the Duomo, then in progreſs, "with a yearly "ſalary of one hundred gold florins, and the privilege of "citizenſhip." He deſigned the Campanile, in a more perfect form than that which now exiſts; for his intended ſpire, 150 feet in height, never was erected. He, however, modelled the bas-reliefs for the baſe of the building, and ſculptured two of them with his own hand. It was after-

* *Chriſtian Art*, vol. ii. p. 242.

wards completed, with the exception of the ſpire, according to his deſign; but he only ſaw its foundations laid, and its firſt marble ſtory riſe. He died at Florence, on the 8th of January, 1337, full of honour; happy, perhaps, in departing at the zenith of his ſtrength, when his eye had not become dim, nor his natural force abated. He was buried in the cathedral, at the angle neareſt his campanile; and thus the tower, which is the chief grace of his native city, may be regarded as his own ſepulchral monument.

I may refer the reader to the cloſe of Lord Lindſay's letter on Giotto,* from which I have drawn moſt of the particulars above ſtated, for a very beautiful ſketch of his character and his art. Of the real rank of that art, in the abſtract, I do not feel myſelf capable of judging accurately, having not ſeen his fineſt works (at Aſſiſi and Naples), nor carefully ſtudied even thoſe at Florence. But I may be permitted to point out one or two peculiar characteriſtics in it which have always ſtruck me forcibly.

In the firſt place, Giotto never finiſhed highly. He was not, indeed, a looſe or ſketchy painter, but he was by no means a delicate one. His lines, as the ſtory of the circle would lead us to expect, are always firm, but they are never fine. Even in his ſmalleſt tempera pictures the touch is bold and ſomewhat heavy: in his freſco work the handling is much broader than that of contemporary painters, correſponding ſomewhat to the character of many of the figures, repreſenting plain, maſculine kind of people, and never reaching any thing like the ideal refinement of the conceptions even of Benozzo Gozzoli, far leſs of An-

* *Chriſtian Art*, p. 260.

gelico or Francia. For this reaſon, the character of his painting is better expreſſed by bold wood-engravings than in general it is likely to be by any other means.

Again, he was a very noble colouriſt; and in his peculiar feeling for breadth of hue reſembled Titian more than any other of the Florentine ſchool. That is to ſay, had he been born two centuries later, when the art of painting was fully known, I believe he would have treated his ſubjects much more like Titian than like Raphael; in fact, the freſcoes of Titian in the chapel beſide the church of St. Antonio at Padua, are, in all technical qualities, and in many of their conceptions, almoſt exactly what I believe Giotto would have done, had he lived in Titian's time. As it was, he of courſe never attained either richneſs or truth of colour; but in ſerene brilliancy he is not eaſily rivalled; invariably maſſing his hues in large fields, limiting them firmly, and then filling them with ſubtle gradation. He had the Venetian fondneſs for bars and ſtripes, not unfrequently caſting barred colours obliquely acroſs the draperies of an upright figure, from ſide to ſide (as very notably in the dreſs of one of the muſicians who are playing to the dancing of Herodias' daughter, in one of his freſcoes at Santa Croce); and this predilection was mingled with the truly mediæval love of *quartering*.* The figure of the Madonna in the ſmall tempera pictures in the Academy at Florence is always completely divided into two narrow ſegments by her dark-blue robe.

* I uſe this heraldic word in an inaccurate ſenſe, knowing no other that will expreſs what I mean,—the diviſion of the picture into quaint ſegments of alternating colour, more marked than any of the figure outlines.

And this is always to be remembered in looking at any engravings from the works of Giotto; for the injury they ſuſtain in being deprived of their colour is far greater than in the caſe of later deſigners. All works produced in the fourteenth century agree in being more or leſs decorative; they were intended in moſt inſtances to be ſubſervient to architectural effect, and were executed in the manner beſt calculated to produce a ſtriking impreſſion when they were ſeen in a maſs. The painted wall and the painted window were part and parcel of one magnificent whole; and it is as unjuſt to the work of Giotto, or of any contemporary artiſt, to take out a ſingle feature from the ſeries, and repreſent it in black and white on a ſeparate page, as it would be to take out a compartment of a noble coloured window, and engrave it in the ſame manner. What is at once refined and effective, if ſeen at the intended diſtance in uniſon with the reſt of the work, becomes coarſe and inſipid when ſeen iſolated and near; and the more ſkilfully the deſign is arranged, ſo as to give full value to the colours which are introduced in it, the more blank and cold will it become when it is deprived of them.

In our modern art we have indeed loſt ſight of one great principle which regulated that of the middle ages, namely, that chiaroſcuro and colour are incompatible in their higheſt degrees. Wherever chiaroſcuro enters, colour muſt loſe ſome of its brilliancy. There is no *ſhade* in a rainbow, nor in an opal, nor in a piece of mother-of-pearl, nor in a well-deſigned painted window; only various hues of perfect colour. The beſt pictures, by ſubduing their colour and conventionaliſing their chiaroſcuro, reconcile

both in their diminiſhed degrees; but a perfect light and ſhade cannot be given without conſiderable loſs of livelineſs in colour. Hence the ſuppoſed inferiority of Tintoret to Titian. Tintoret is, in reality, the greater colouriſt of the two; but he could not bear to falſify his light and ſhadow enough to ſet off his colour. Titian nearly ſtrikes the exact mean between the painted glaſs of the 13th century and Rembrandt; while Giotto cloſely approaches the ſyſtem of painted glaſs, and hence his compoſitions loſe grievouſly by being tranſlated into black and white.

But even his chiaroſcuro, however ſubdued, is not without a peculiar charm; and the accompanying engravings poſſeſs a marked ſuperiority over all that have hitherto been made from the works of this painter, in rendering this chiaroſcuro, as far as poſſible, together with the effect of the local colours. The true appreciation of art has been retarded for many years by the habit of truſting to outlines as a ſufficient expreſſion of the ſentiment of compoſitions; whereas in all truly great deſigns, of whatever age, it is never the outline, but the diſpoſition of the maſſes, whether of ſhade or colour, on which the real power of the work depends. For inſtance, in Plate III. (The Angel appears to Anna), the intereſt of the compoſition depends entirely upon the broad ſhadows which fill the ſpaces of the chamber, and of the external paſſage in which the attendant is ſitting. This ſhade explains the whole ſcene in a moment: gives prominence to the curtain and coverlid of the homely bed, and the rude cheſt and treſtles which form the poor furniture of the houſe; and conducts the eye eaſily and

inſtantly to the three figures, which, had the ſcene been expreſſed in outline only, we ſhould have had to trace out with ſome care and difficulty among the pillars of the loggia and folds of the curtains. So alſo the relief of the faces in light againſt the dark ſky is of peculiar value in the compoſitions No. X. and No. XII.

The *drawing* of Giotto is, of courſe, exceedingly faulty. His knowledge of the human figure is deficient; and this, the neceſſary drawback in all works of the period, occaſions an extreme difficulty in rendering them faithfully in an engraving. For wherever there is good and legitimate drawing, the ordinary education of a modern draughtſman enables him to copy it with tolerable accuracy; but when once the true forms of nature are departed from, it is by no means eaſy to expreſs *exactly* the error, and *no more than* the error, of his original. In moſt caſes modern copyiſts try to modify or hide the weakneſſes of the old art,—by which procedure they very often wholly loſe its ſpirit, and only half redeem its defects; the reſults being, of courſe, at once falſe as repreſentations, and intrinſically valueleſs. And juſt as it requires great courage and ſkill in an interpreter to ſpeak out honeſtly all the rough and rude words of the firſt ſpeaker, and to tranſlate deliberately and reſolutely, in the face of attentive men, the expreſſions of his weakneſs or impatience; ſo it requires at once the utmoſt courage and ſkill in a copyiſt to trace faithfully the failures of an imperfect maſter, in the front of modern criticiſm, and againſt the inborn inſtincts of his own hand and eye. And let him do the beſt he can, he will ſtill find that the grace and life of his original are

continually flying off like a vapour, while all the faults he has ſo diligently copied ſit rigidly ſtaring him in the face, —a terrible *caput mortuum*. It is very neceſſary that this ſhould be well underſtood by the members of the Arundel Society, when they hear their engravings ſeverely criticiſed. It is eaſy to produce an agreeable engraving by graceful infidelities; but the entire endeavour of the draughtſmen employed by this ſociety has been to obtain accurately the character of the original: and he who never propoſes to himſelf to riſe *above* the work he is copying, muſt moſt aſſuredly often fall beneath it. Such fall is the inherent and inevitable penalty on all abſolute copyiſm; and wherever the copy is made with ſincerity, the fall muſt be endured with patience. It will never be an utter or a degrading fall; that is reſerved for thoſe who, like vulgar tranſlators, wilfully quit the hand of their maſter, and have no ſtrength of their own.

Laſtly. It is eſpecially to be noticed that theſe works of Giotto, in common with all others of the period, are independent of all the inferior ſources of pictorial intereſt. They never ſhow the ſlighteſt attempt at imitative realiſation: they are ſimple ſuggeſtions of ideas, claiming no regard except for the inherent value of the thoughts. There is no filling of the landſcape with variety of ſcenery, architecture, or incident, as in the works of Benozzo Gozzoli or Perugino; no wealth of jewellery and gold ſpent on the dreſſes of the figures, as in the delicate labours of Angelico or Gentile da Fabriano. The background is never more than a few gloomy maſſes of rock, with a tree or two, and perhaps a fountain; the architec-

ture is merely what is neceſſary to explain the ſcene; the dreſſes are painted ſternly on the "heroic" principle of Sir Joſhua Reynolds—that drapery is to be "drapery, and nothing more,"—there is no ſilk, nor velvet, nor diſtinguiſhable material of any kind: the whole power of the picture is reſted on the three ſimple eſſentials of painting—pure Colour, noble Form, noble Thought.

We moderns, educated in reality far more under the influence of the Dutch maſters than the Italian, and taught to look for realiſation in all things, have been in the habit of caſting ſcorn on theſe early Italian works, as if their ſimplicity were the reſult of ignorance merely. When we know a little more of art in general, we ſhall begin to ſuſpect that a man of Giotto's power of mind did not altogether ſuppoſe his cluſters of formal trees, or diminutive maſſes of architecture, to be perfect repreſentations of the woods of Judea, or of the ſtreets of Jeruſalem: we ſhall begin to underſtand that there is a ſymbolical art which addreſſes the imagination, as well as a realiſt art which ſuperſedes it; and that the powers of contemplation and conception which could be ſatisfied or excited by theſe ſimple types of natural things, were infinitely more majeſtic than thoſe which are ſo dependent on the completeneſs of what is preſented to them as to be paralyſed by an error in perſpective, or ſtifled by the abſence of atmoſphere.

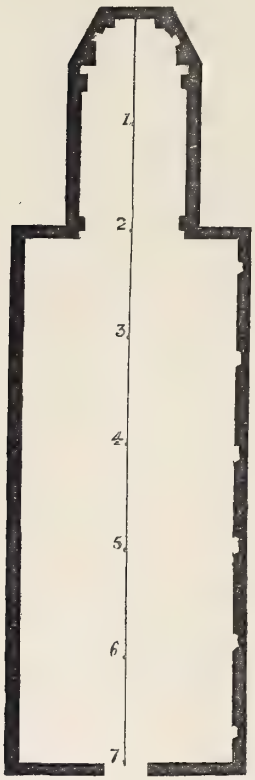
Nor is the healthy ſimplicity of the period leſs marked in the ſelection than in the treatment of ſubjects. It has in theſe days become neceſſary for the painter who deſires popularity to accumulate on his canvas whatever is ſtartling

in aſpect or emotion, and to drain, even to exhauſtion, the vulgar ſources of the pathetic. Modern ſentiment, at once feveriſh and feeble, remains unawakened except by the violences of gaiety or gloom; and the eye refuſes to pauſe, except when it is tempted by the luxury of beauty, or faſcinated by the excitement of terror. It ought not, therefore, to be without a reſpectful admiration that we find the maſters of the fourteenth century dwelling on moments of the moſt ſubdued and tender feeling, and leaving the ſpectator to trace the under-currents of thought which link them with future events of mightier intereſt, and fill with a prophetic power and myſtery ſcenes in themſelves ſo ſimple as the meeting of a maſter with his herdſmen among the hills, or the return of a betrothed virgin to her houſe.

It is, however, to be remembered that this quietneſs in character of ſubject was much more poſſible to an early painter, owing to the connection in which his works were to be ſeen. A modern picture, iſolated and portable, muſt reſt all its claims to attention on its own actual ſubject: but the pictures of the early maſters were nearly always parts of a conſecutive and ſtable ſeries, in which many were ſubdued, like the connecting paſſages of a prolonged poem, in order to enhance the value or meaning of others. The arrangement of the ſubjects in the Arena Chapel is in this reſpect peculiarly ſkilful; and to that arrangement we muſt now direct our attention.

It was before noticed that the chapel was built between 1300 and 1306. The architecture of Italy in

the beginning of the fourteenth century is always pure, and often ſevere; but this chapel is remarkable, even among the ſevereſt forms, for the abſence of decoration. Its plan, ſeen in the marginal figure, is a pure oblong, with a narrow advanced tribune, terminating in a trilateral apſe. Selvatico quotes from the German writer Stieglitz ſome curious obſervations on the apparent derivation of its proportions, in common with thoſe of other buildings of the time, from the number of ſides of its apſe. Without entering into theſe particulars, it may be noted that the apſe is juſt one-half the width of the body of the chapel, and that the length from the extremity of the tribune to the weſt end is juſt ſeven times the width of the apſe. The whole of the body of the chapel was painted by Giotto; the walls and roof being entirely covered either with his figure-deſigns, or with various ſubordinate decorations connecting and encloſing them.



The woodcut oppoſite repreſents the arrangement of the freſcoes on the ſides, extremities, and roof of the chapel. The ſpectator is ſuppoſed to be looking from the weſtern entrance towards the tribune, having on his right the ſouth ſide, which is pierced by ſix tall windows, and on which the freſcoes are therefore reduced in number. The north

INTERIOR OF THE ARENA CHAPEL, PADUA, LOOKING EASTWARD.

ſide is pierced by no windows, and on it therefore the freſcoes are continuous, lighted from the ſouth windows. The ſeveral ſpaces numbered 1 to 38 are occupied by a continuous ſeries of ſubjects, repreſenting the life of the Virgin and of Chriſt; the narrow panels below, marked *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., are filled by figures of the cardinal virtues and their opponent vices: on the lunette above the tribune is painted a Chriſt in glory, and at the weſtern extremity the Laſt Judgment. Thus the walls of the chapel are covered with a continuous meditative poem on the myſtery of the Incarnation, the acts of Redemption, the vices and virtues of mankind as proceeding from their ſcorn or acceptance of that Redemption, and their final judgment.

The firſt twelve pictures of the ſeries are excluſively devoted to the apocryphal hiſtory of the birth and life of the Virgin. This the Proteſtant ſpectator will obſerve, perhaps, with little favour, more eſpecially as only two compartments are given to the miniſtry of Chriſt, between his Baptiſm and Entry into Jeruſalem. Due weight is, however, to be allowed to Lord Lindſay's remark, that the legendary hiſtory of the Virgin was of peculiar importance in this chapel, as eſpecially dedicated to her ſervice; and I think alſo that Giotto deſired to unite the ſeries of compoſitions in one continuous action, feeling that to have enlarged on the ſeparate miracles of Chriſt's miniſtry would have interrupted the onward courſe of thought. As it is, the mind is led from the firſt humiliation of Joachim to the Aſcenſion of Chriſt in one unbroken and progreſſive chain of ſcenes; the miniſtry of Chriſt being completely typified by his firſt and laſt conſpicuous miracle: while

the very unimportance of ſome of the ſubjects, as for inſtance that of the Watching the Rods, is uſeful in directing the ſpectator rather to purſue the courſe of the narrative, than to pauſe in ſatisfied meditation upon any ſingle incident. And it can hardly be doubted that Giotto had alſo a peculiar pleaſure in dwelling on the circumſtances of the ſhepherd life of the father of the Virgin, owing to its reſemblance to that of his own early years.

The incidents repreſented in theſe firſt twelve paintings are recorded in the two apocryphal goſpels known as the "Protevangelion" and "Goſpel of St. Mary."* But on comparing the ſtatements in theſe writings (which, by the by, are in nowiſe conſiſtent with each other) with the paintings in the Arena Chapel, it appeared to me that Giotto muſt occaſionally have followed ſome more detailed traditions than are furniſhed by either of them; ſeeing that of one or two ſubjects the apocryphal goſpels gave no diſtinct or ſufficient explanation. Fortunately, however, in the courſe of ſome other reſearches, I met with a manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum (Harl. 3571,) containing

* It has always appeared ſtrange to me, that eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſhould poſſeſs no more authentic records of the life of the Virgin, before the period at which the narrative of St. Luke commences, than theſe apocryphal goſpels, which are as wretched in ſtyle as untruſtworthy in matter; and are evidently nothing more than a collection, in rude imitation of the ſtyle of the Evangeliſts, of ſuch floating traditions as became current among the weak Chriſtians of the earlier ages, when their inquiries reſpecting the hiſtory of Mary were met by the obſcurity under which the Divine will had veiled her humble perſon and character. There muſt always be ſomething painful, to thoſe who are familiar with the Scriptures, in reading theſe feeble and fooliſh mockeries of the manner of the inſpired writers; but it will be proper, nevertheleſs, to give the exact words in which the ſcenes repreſented by Giotto were recorded to *him*.

a complete "Hiſtory of the moſt Holy Family," written in Northern Italian of about the middle of the 14th century; and appearing to be one of the forms of the legend which Giotto has occaſionally followed in preference to the ſtatements of the Protevangelion. I have therefore, in illuſtration of the paintings, given, when it ſeemed uſeful, ſome portions of this manuſcript; and theſe, with one or two verſes of the commonly received accounts, will be found generally enough to interpret ſufficiently the meaning of the painter.

The following complete liſt of the ſubjects will at once enable the reader to refer any of them to its place in the ſeries, and on the walls of the building; and I have only now to remind him in concluſion, that within thoſe walls the greateſt painter and greateſt poet of mediæval Italy held happy companionſhip during the time when the freſcoes were executed. "It is not difficult," ſays the writer already ſo often quoted, Lord Lindſay, "gazing on theſe ſilent but "eloquent walls, to repeople them with the group once, as "we know, five hundred years ago, aſſembled within them: "Giotto intent upon his work, his wife Ciuta admiring his "progreſs; and Dante, with abſtracted eye, alternately con-"verſing with his friend, and watching the gambols of the "children playing on the graſs before the door."

SERIES OF SUBJECTS.

1. The Rejection of Joachim's Offering.
2. Joachim retires to the Sheepfold.
3. The Angel appears to Anna.
4. The Sacrifice of Joachim.
5. The Vision of Joachim.
6. The Meeting at the Golden Gate.
7. The Birth of the Virgin.
8. The Presentation of the Virgin.
9. The Rods are brought to the High Priest.
10. The Watching of the Rods.
11. The Betrothal of the Virgin.
12. The Virgin returns to her House.
13. The Angel Gabriel.
14. The Virgin Annunciate.
15. The Salutation.
16. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.
17. The Wise Men's Offering.
18. The Presentation in the Temple.
19. The Flight into Egypt.
20. The Massacre of the Innocents.
21. The Young Christ in the Temple.
22. The Baptism of Christ.
23. The Marriage in Cana.
24. The Raising of Lazarus.
25. The Entry into Jerusalem.
26. The Expulsion from the Temple.
27. The Hiring of Judas.

28. The Laſt Supper.
29. The Waſhing of the Feet.
30. The Kiſs of Judas.
31. Chriſt before Caiaphas.
32. The Scourging of Chriſt.
33. Chriſt bearing his Croſs.
34. The Crucifixion.
35. The Entombment.
36. The Reſurrection.
37. The Aſcenſion.
38. The Deſcent of the Holy Spirit.

I.

THE REJECTION OF JOACHIM'S OFFERING.

" At that time, there was a man of perfect holineſs, " named Joachim, of the tribe of Juda, and of the city of " Jeruſalem. And this Joachim had in contempt the " riches and honours of the world; and for greater deſpite " to them, he kept his flocks, with his ſhepherds.

" * * * And he, being ſo holy and juſt, di- " vided the fruits which he received from his flocks into " three parts: a third part—wool, and lambs, and such " like—he gave to God, that is to ſay, to thoſe who ſerved " God, and who miniſtered in the temple of God; another " third part he gave to widows, orphans, and pilgrims; the " remaining third he kept for himſelf and his family. " And he perſevering in this, God ſo multiplied and in- " creaſed his goods that there was no man like him in the " land of Iſrael. * * * And having come to " the age of twenty years, he took to wife Anna, the " daughter of Yſaya, of his own tribe, and of the lineage " of David.

" This precious St. Anna had always perſevered in " the ſervice of God with great wiſdom and ſincerity;

" * * * and having received Joachim for her " huſband, was ſubject to him, and gave him honour " and reverence, living in the fear of God. And Jo- " achim having lived with his wife Anna for twenty " years, yet having no child, and there being a great " ſolemnity in Jeruſalem, all the men of the city went " to offer in the temple of God, which Solomon had " built; and Joachim entering the temple with (in- " cenſe ?) and other gifts to offer on the altar, and " Joachim having made his offering, the miniſter of " the temple, whoſe name was Iſſachar, threw Joachim's " offering from off the altar, and drove Joachim out " of the temple, ſaying, 'Thou, Joachim, art not worthy " to enter into the temple, ſeeing that God has not " added his bleſſing to you, as in your life you have " had no ſeed.' Thus Joachim received a great inſult in " the ſight of all the people; and he being all aſhamed, " returned to his houſe, weeping and lamenting moſt bit- " terly." (MS. Harl.)

The Goſpel of St. Mary differs from this MS. in its ſtatement of the reſpective cities of Joachim and Anna, ſaying that the family of the Virgin's father " was of Gali- " lee and of the city of Nazareth, the family of her mother " was of Bethlehem." It is leſs intereſting in details; but gives a better, or at leaſt more graceful, account of Joachim's repulſe, ſaying that Iſſachar " deſpiſed Joachim " and his offerings, and aſked him why he, who had no " children, would preſume to appear among thoſe who " had: adding, that his offerings could never be accept- " able to God, ſince he had been judged by Him unworthy

" to have children; the Scripture having ſaid, Curſed is " every one who ſhall not beget a male in Iſrael."

Giotto ſeems to have followed this latter account, as the figure of the high prieſt is far from being either ignoble or ungentle.

The temple is repreſented by the two moſt important portions of a Byzantine church; namely, the ciborium which covered the altar, and the pulpit or reading-deſk; with the low ſcreen in front of the altar encloſing the part of the church called the " cancellum." Lord Lindſay ſpeaks of the prieſt within this encloſure as " confeſſing a young man who kneels at his feet." It ſeems to me, rather, that he is meant to be accepting the offering of another worſhipper, ſo as to mark the rejection of Joachim more diſtinctly.

II.

JOACHIM RETIRES TO THE SHEEPFOLD.

" Then Joachim, in the following night, reſolved to " ſeparate himſelf from companionſhip; to go to the de- " ſert places among the mountains, with his flocks; and to " inhabit thoſe mountains, in order not to hear ſuch inſults. " And immediately Joachim roſe from his bed, and called " about him all his ſervants and ſhepherds, and cauſed to " be gathered together all his flocks, and goats, and horſes, " and oxen, and what other beaſts he had, and went with " them and with the ſhepherds into the hills; and Anna " his wife remained at home diſconſolate, and mourning " for her huſband, who had departed from her in ſuch " ſorrow." (MS. Harl.)

" But upon inquiry, he found that all the righteous " had raiſed up ſeed in Iſrael. Then he called to mind " the patriarch Abraham,—how that God in the end of his " life had given him his ſon Iſaac: upon which he was " exceedingly diſtreſſed, and would not be ſeen by his wife; " but retired into the wilderneſs and fixed his tent there, " and faſted forty days and forty nights, ſaying to himſelf, " 'I will not go down to eat or drink till the Lord my " God ſhall look down upon me; but prayer ſhall be my " meat and drink.'" (Protevangelion, chap. i.)

Giotto ſeems here alſo to have followed the ordinary

tradition, as he has repreſented Joachim retiring unattended, —but met by two of his ſhepherds, who are ſpeaking to each other, uncertain what to do or how to receive their maſter. The dog haſtens to meet him with joy. The figure of Joachim is ſingularly beautiful in its penſiveneſs and ſlow motion; and the ignobleneſs of the herdſmen's figures is curiouſly marked in oppoſition to the dignity of their maſter.

III.

THE ANGEL APPEARS TO ANNA.

" Afterwards the angel appeared to Anna his wife, " ſaying, ' Fear not, neither think that which you ſee is a " ſpirit. For I am that angel who hath offered up your " prayers and alms before God, and am now ſent to tell " you that a daughter will be born unto you. * * * " Ariſe, therefore, and go up to Jeruſalem; and when " you ſhall come to that which is called the Golden Gate " (becauſe it is gilt with gold), as a ſign of what I have " told you, you ſhall meet your huſband, for whoſe ſafety " you have been ſo much concerned.'" (Goſpel of St. Mary, " chap. iii. 1-7.)

The accounts in the Protevangelion and in the Harleian MS. are much expanded: relating how Anna feared her huſband was dead, he having been abſent from her five months; and how Judith, her maid, taunted her with her childleſſneſs; and how, going then into her garden, ſhe ſaw a ſparrow's neſt, full of young, upon a laurel-tree, and mourning within herſelf, ſaid, " I am not " comparable to the very beaſts of the earth, for even they " are fruitful before thee, O Lord. * * * I am " not comparable to the very earth, for the earth produces " its fruits to praiſe thee. Then the angel of the Lord " ſtood by her," &c.

Both the Protevangelion and Harleian MS. agree in placing the viſion in the garden; the latter adding, that ſhe fled "into her chamber in great fear, and fell upon "her bed, and lay as in a trance all that day and all that "night, but did not tell the viſion to her maid, becauſe "of her bitter anſwering." Giotto has deviated from both accounts in making the viſion appear to Anna in her chamber, while the maid, evidently being conſidered an important perſonage, is at work in the paſſage. Apart from all reference to the legends, there is ſomething peculiarly beautiful in the ſimplicity of Giotto's conception, and in the way in which he has ſhown the angel entering at the window, without the leaſt endeavour to impreſs our imagination by darkneſs, or light, or clouds, or any other acceſſory; as though believing that angels might appear any where, and any day, and to all men, as a matter of courſe, if we would aſk them, or were fit company for them.

IV.

THE SACRIFICE OF JOACHIM.

The account of this ſacrifice is only given clearly in the Harleian MS.; but even this differs from Giotto's ſeries in the order of the viſions, as the ſubject of the *next* plate is recorded firſt in this MS., under the curious heading, "*Diſſe Sancto Theofilo* como l'angelo de Dio aperſe a Joa- "chim lo qual li anuntia la nativita della vergene Maria;" while the record of this vision and ſacrifice is headed, "Como l'angelo de Dio aparſe *anchora* a Joachim." It then proceeds thus: "At this very moment of the day" (when the angel appeared to Anna), "there appeared a moſt "beautiful youth (*unno belitiſſimo zovene*) among the moun- "tains there, where Joachim was, and ſaid to Joachim, "'Wherefore doſt thou not return to thy wife?' And "Joachim anſwered, 'Theſe twenty years God has given "me no fruit of her, wherefore I was chaſed from the "temple with infinite ſhame. * * * And, "as long as I live, I will give alms of my flocks to "widows and pilgrims.' * * * And theſe "words being finiſhed, the youth anſwered, 'I am "the angel of God who appeared to thee the other "time for a ſign; and appeared to thy wife Anna, who "always abides in prayer, weeping day and night; and "I have conſoled her; wherefore I command thee to

" obſerve the commandments of God, and his will, which " I tell you truly, that of thee ſhall be born a daughter, " and that thou ſhalt offer her to the temple of God, and " the Holy Spirit ſhall reſt upon her, and her bleſſedneſs " ſhall be above the bleſſedneſs of all virgins, and her " holineſs ſo great that human nature will not be able to " comprehend it.'* * * * *

" Then Joachim fell upon the earth, ſaying, ' My lord, " I pray thee to pray God for me, and to enter into this " my tabernacle, and bleſs me, thy ſervant.' The angel " anſwered, ' We are all the ſervants of God: and know " that my eating would be inviſible, and my drinking " could not be ſeen by all the men in the world; but " of all that thou wouldeſt give to me, do thou make " ſacrifice to God.' Then Joachim took a lamb without " ſpot or blemiſh * * * * ; and when he had " made ſacrifice of it, the angel of the Lord diſappeared " and aſcended into heaven; and Joachim fell upon the " earth in great fear, and lay from the ſixth hour until " the evening."

This is evidently nothing more than a very vapid imitation of the ſcriptural narrative of the appearances of angels to Abraham and Manoah. But Giotto has put life into it;

* This paſſage in the old Italian of the MS. may intereſt ſome readers: " E " complice queſte parole lo zovene reſpoxe, dignando, Io ſon l' angelo de Dio, lo quale " ſi te aparſe l' altra fiada, in ſegno, e aparſe a toa mulier Anna che ſempre ſta in oration " plauzando di e note, e ſi lo conſolada; unde io te comando che tu debie obſervare " li comandimenti de Dio, ela ſoua volunta che io te dico veramente, che de la toa ſo- " menza inſera una fiola, e queſta offrila al templo de Dio, e lo Spirito ſanto repoſera in " ley, ela ſoa beatitudine ſera ſovera tute le altre verzene, ela ſoua ſantita ſera ſi grande " che natura humana non la pora comprendere."

and I am aware of no other compoſition in which ſo much intereſt and awe has been given to the literal "burnt ſacrifice." In all other repreſentations of ſuch offerings which I remember, the intereſt is concentrated in the *ſlaying* of the victim. But Giotto has faſtened on the *burning* of it; ſhowing the white ſkeleton left on the altar, and the fire ſtill hurtling up round it, typical of the Divine wrath, which is "as a conſuming fire;" and thus rendering the ſacrifice a more clear and fearful type not merely of the outward wounds and death of Chriſt, but of his ſoul-ſuffering. "All my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it "is melted in the midſt of my bowels."*

The hand of the Deity is ſeen in the heavens—the ſign of the Divine Preſence.

* (Note by a friend):—"To me the moſt ſtriking part of it is, that the ſkeleton is *entire* ('a bone of him ſhall not be broken'), and that the head ſtands up ſtill looking to the ſkies: is it too fanciful to ſee a meaning in this?"

V.

THE ANGEL (RAPHAEL) APPEARS TO JOACHIM.

" Now Joachim being in this pain, the Lord God, " Father of mercy, who abandons not his ſervants, nor " ever fails to conſole them in their diſtreſſes, if they pray " for his grace and pity, had compaſſion on Joachim, and " heard his prayer, and ſent the angel Raphael from " heaven to earth to conſole him, and announce to him " the nativity of the Virgin Mary. Therefore the angel " Raphael appeared to Joachim, and comforted him with " much peace, and foretold to him the birth of the Virgin " in that glory and gladneſs, ſaying, ' God ſave you, " O friend of God, O Joachim! the Lord has ſent me " to declare to you an everlaſting joy, and a hope that ſhall " have no end.' * * * * And having " finiſhed theſe words, the angel of the Lord diſappeared " from him, and aſcended into the heaven." (MS. Harl.)

The paſſage which I have omitted is merely one of the ordinary Romaniſt accounts of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, put into the form of prophecy. There are no ſufficient details of this part of the legend either in the Protevangelion or Goſpel of St. Mary; but it is quite clear that Giotto followed it, and that he has endeavoured to mark a diſtinction in character be-

tween the angels Gabriel and Raphael* in the two ſubjects,—the form of Raphael melting back into the heaven, and being diſtinctly recogniſed as angelic, while Gabriel appears inveſted with perfect humanity. It is intereſting to obſerve that the ſhepherds, who of courſe are not ſuppoſed to ſee the form of the Angel (his manifeſtation being only granted to Joachim during his ſleep), are yet evidently under the influence of a certain degree of awe and expectation, as being conſcious of ſome preſence other than they can perceive, while the animals are unconſcious altogether.

* The MS. makes the angel Raphael the only meſſenger. Giotto clearly adopts the figure of Gabriel from the Protevangelion.

VI.

THE MEETING AT THE GOLDEN GATE.

"And Joachim went down with the ſhepherds, and "Anna ſtood by the gate, and ſaw Joachim coming with "the ſhepherds. And ſhe ran, and hanging about his "neck, ſaid, 'Now I know that the Lord hath greatly "bleſſed me.'" (Protevangelion, iv. 8, 9.)

This is one of the moſt celebrated of Giotto's compoſitions, and deſervedly ſo, being full of the moſt ſolemn grace and tenderneſs. The face of St. Anna, half ſeen, is moſt touching in its depth of expreſſion; and it is very intereſting to obſerve how Giotto has enhanced its ſweetneſs, by giving a harder and groſſer character than is uſual with him to the heads of the other two principal female figures (not but that this caſt of feature is found frequently in the figures of ſomewhat earlier art), and by the rough and weather-beaten countenance of the entering ſhepherd. In like manner, the falling lines of the draperies owe a great part of their value to the abrupt and ugly oblongs of the horizontal maſonry which adjoins them.

VII.

THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN.

" And Joachim ſaid, 'Now I know that the Lord is " propitious to me, and hath taken away all my ſins.' " And he went down from the temple of the Lord juſtified, " and went to his own houſe.

" And when nine months were fulfilled to Anna, ſhe " brought forth, and ſaid to the midwife, 'What have I " brought forth?' And ſhe told her, a girl.

" Then Anna ſaid, 'The Lord hath this day magnified " my ſoul.' And ſhe laid her in the bed." (Protevangelion, v. 4-8.)

The compoſition is very characteriſtic of Giotto in two reſpects: firſt, in its natural homelineſs and ſimplicity (in older deſigns of the ſame ſubject the little Madonna is repreſented as born with a golden crown on her head); and ſecondly, in the ſmallneſs of the breaſt and head of the ſitting figure on the right,—a fault of proportion often obſervable in Giotto's figures of children or young girls.

For the firſt time, alſo, in this ſeries, we have here two ſucceſſive periods of the ſcene repreſented ſimultaneouſly, the babe being painted twice. This practice was frequent among the early painters, and muſt neceſſarily become ſo wherever painting undertakes the taſk of length-

ened narrative. Much abſurd diſcuſſion has taken place reſpecting its propriety; the whole queſtion being ſimply whether the human mind can or cannot paſs from the contemplation of one event to that of another, without repoſing itſelf on an intermediate gilt frame.

VIII.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN.

" And when three years were expired, and the time " of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to " the temple of the Lord with offerings.

" And there were about the temple, according to the " fifteen Pſalms of Degrees, fifteen ſtairs to aſcend.

" The parents of the bleſſed Virgin and infant Mary " put her upon one of theſe ſtairs; but while they were " putting off their clothes in which they had travelled, in " the meantime, the Virgin of the Lord in ſuch a manner " went up all the ſtairs, one after another, without the help " of any one to lead her or lift her, that any one would " have judged from hence that ſhe was of perfect age." (Goſpel of St. Mary, iv. 1-6.)

There ſeems nothing very miraculous in a child's walking up ſtairs at three years old; but this incident is a favourite one among the Roman-Catholic painters of every period: generally, however, repreſenting the child as older than in the legend, and dwelling rather on the ſolemn feeling with which ſhe preſents herſelf to the high-prieſt, than on the mere fact of her being able to walk alone. Giotto has clearly regarded the incident entirely in this light; for St. Anna touches the child's arm as if to ſupport

her; ſo that the ſo-called miraculous walking is not even hinted at.

Lord Lindſay particularly notices that the Virgin is "a dwarf woman inſtead of a child;—the delineation of "childhood was one of the lateſt triumphs of art." Even in the time of thoſe lateſt triumphs, however, the ſame fault was committed in another way; and a boy of eight or ten was commonly repreſented—even by Raffaelle himſelf—as a dwarf Hercules, with all the gladiatorial muſcles already viſible in ſtunted rotundity. Giotto probably felt he had not power enough to give dignity to a child of three years old, and intended the womanly form to be rather typical of the Virgin's advanced mind, than an actual repreſentation of her perſon.

IX.

THE RODS ARE BROUGHT TO THE HIGH-PRIEST.

" Then he (the high-prieſt) appointed that all the men " of the houſe and family of David who were marriageable, " and not married, ſhould bring their ſeveral rods to the " altar. And out of whatſoever perſon's rod, after it was " brought, a flower ſhould bud forth, and on the top of " it the Spirit of the Lord ſhould ſit in the appearance " of a dove, he ſhould be the man to whom the Virgin " ſhould be given, and be betrothed to her." (Goſpel of St. Mary, v. 16, 17.)

There has originally been very little intereſt in this compoſition; and the injuries which it has ſuffered have rendered it impoſſible for the draftſman to diſtinguiſh the true folds of the draperies amidſt the defaced and worn colours of the freſco, ſo that the character of the central figure is loſt. The only points requiring notice are, firſt, the manner in which St. Joſeph holds his rod, depreſſing and half-concealing it,* while the other ſuitors preſent theirs boldly; and ſecondly, the graceful though monotonous grouping of the heads of the crowd behind him. This mode of rendering the preſence of a large multitude,

* In the next chapter, it is ſaid that " Joſeph drew back his rod when every one elſe preſented his."

ſhowing only the crowns of the heads in complicated perſpective, was long practiſed in moſaics and illuminations before the time of Giotto, and always poſſeſſes a certain degree of ſublimity in its power of ſuggeſting perfect unity of feeling and movement among the crowd.

X.

THE WATCHING OF THE RODS AT THE ALTAR.

" After the high-prieſt had received their rods, he " went into the temple to pray.

" And when he had finiſhed his prayer, he took the " rods and went forth and diſtributed them; and there was " no miracle attended them.

" The laſt rod was taken by Joſeph; and, behold, a " dove proceeded out of the rod, and flew upon the head " of Joſeph." (Protevangelion, viii. 9-11.)

This is among the leaſt graceful deſigns of the ſeries; though the clumſineſs in the contours of the leading figures is indeed a fault which often occurs in the painter's beſt works, but it is here unredeemed by the reſt of the compoſition. The group of the ſuitors, however, repreſented as waiting at the outſide of the temple, is very beautiful in its earneſtneſs, more eſpecially in the paſſionate expreſſion of the figure in front. It is difficult to look long at the picture without feeling a degree of anxiety, and ſtrong ſympathy with the ſilent watching of the ſuitors; and this is a ſign of no ſmall power in the work. The head of Joſeph is ſeen far back on the extreme left; thus indicating by its poſition his humility, and deſire to withdraw from the trial.

XI.

THE BETROTHAL OF THE VIRGIN.

There is no diſtinct notice of this event in the apocryphal Goſpel: the traditional repreſentation of it is nearly always more or leſs ſimilar. Lord Lindſay's account of the compoſition before us is as follows:

"The high-prieſt, ſtanding in front of the altar, joins "their hands; behind the Virgin ſtand her brideſmaids; "behind St. Joſeph the unſucceſsful ſuitors, one of whom "ſteps forward to ſtrike him, and another breaks his rod "on his knee. Joſeph bears his own rod, on the flower "of which the Holy Spirit reſts in the ſemblance of a "dove."

The development of this ſubject by Perugino (for Raffaelle's picture in the Brera is little more than a modified copy of Perugino's, now at Caen,) is well known; but notwithſtanding all its beauty, there is not, I think, any thing in the action of the diſappointed ſuitors ſo perfectly true or touching as that of the youth breaking his rod in this compoſition of Giotto's; nor is there among any of the figures the expreſſion of ſolemn earneſtneſs and intentneſs on the event which is marked among the attendants here, and in the countenances of the officiating prieſts.

XII.

THE VIRGIN MARY RETURNS TO HER HOUSE.

" Accordingly, the uſual ceremonies of betrothing " being over, he (Joſeph) returned to his own city of " Bethlehem to ſet his houſe in order, and to make the " needful proviſions for the marriage. But the Virgin of " the Lord, Mary, with ſeven other virgins of the ſame " age, who had been weaned at the ſame time, and who " had been appointed to attend her by the prieſt, returned " to her parents' houſe in Galilee." (Goſpel of St. Mary, vi. 6, 7.)

Of all the compoſitions in the Arena Chapel I think this the moſt characteriſtic of the noble time in which it was done. It is not ſo notable as exhibiting the mind of Giotto, which is perhaps more fully ſeen in ſubjects repreſenting varied emotion, as in the ſimplicity and repoſe which were peculiar to the compoſitions of the early fourteenth century. In order to judge of it fairly, it ought firſt to be compared with any claſſical compoſition—with a portion, for inſtance, of the Elgin frieze,—which would inſtantly make manifeſt in it a ſtrange ſerioufneſs and dignity and ſlowneſs of motion, reſulting chiefly from the exceſſive ſimplicity of all its terminal lines. Obſerve, for inſtance, the pure wave from the back of the Virgin's head

to the ground; and again, the delicate ſwelling line along her ſhoulder and left arm, oppoſed to the nearly unbroken fall of the drapery of the figure in front. It ſhould then be compared with an Egyptian or Ninevite ſeries of figures, which, by contraſt, would bring out its perfect ſweetneſs and grace, as well as its variety of expreſſion: finally, it ſhould be compared with any compoſition ſubſequent to the time of Raffaelle, in order to feel its noble freedom from pictorial artifice and attitude. Theſe three compariſons cannot be made carefully without a ſenſe of profound reverence for the national ſpirit* which could produce a deſign ſo majeſtic, and yet remain content with one ſo ſimple.

The ſmall *loggia* of the Virgin's houſe is noticeable, as being different from the architecture introduced in the other pictures, and more accurately repreſenting the Italian Gothic of the dwelling-houſe of the period. The arches of the windows have no capitals; but this omiſſion is either to ſave time, or to prevent the background from becoming too conſpicuous. All the real buildings deſigned by Giotto have the capital completely developed.

* *National,* becauſe Giotto's works are properly to be looked on as the *fruit* of their own age, and the *food* of that which followed.

XIII.

THE ANNUNCIATION.—THE ANGEL GABRIEL.

This figure is placed on one ſide of the arch at the eaſt end of the body of the chapel; the correſponding figure of the Virgin being ſet on the other ſide. It was a conſtant practice of the mediæval artiſts thus to divide this ſubject; which, indeed, was ſo often painted, that the meaning of the ſeparated figures of the Angel and Mary was as well underſtood as when they were ſeen in juxtapoſition. Indeed, on the two ſides of this arch they would hardly be conſidered as ſeparated, ſince very frequently they were ſet to anſwer to each other from the oppoſite extremities of a large ſpace of architecture.*

The figure of the Angel is notable chiefly for its ſerenity, as oppoſed to the late rconceptions of the ſcene, in which he ſails into the chamber upon the wing, like a ſtooping falcon.

The building above is more developed than in any other of the Arena paintings; but it muſt always remain a matter of queſtion, why ſo exquiſite a deſigner of architecture as Giotto ſhould introduce forms ſo harſh and meagre into his backgrounds. Poſſibly he felt that

* As, for inſtance, on the two oppoſite angles of the façade of the Cathedral of Rheims.

the very faults of the architecture enhanced the grace and increaſed the importance of the figures; at leaſt, the proceeding ſeems to me inexplicable on any other theory.*

* (Note by a friend :) " I ſuppoſe you will not admit as an explanation, that he had not yet turned his mind to architectural compoſition, the Campanile being ſome thirty years later ?"

XIV.

THE ANNUNCIATION.—THE VIRGIN MARY.

Vaſari, in his notice of one of Giotto's Annunciations, praiſes him for having juſtly rendered the *fear* of the Virgin at the addreſs of the Angel. If he ever treated the ſubject in ſuch a manner, he departed from all the traditions of his time; for I am aware of no painting of this ſcene, during the courſe of the thirteenth and following centuries, which does not repreſent the Virgin as perfectly tranquil, receiving the meſſage of the Angel in ſolemn thought and gentle humility, but without a ſhadow of fear. It was reſerved for the painters of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries to change angelic majeſty into reckleſs impetuoſity, and maiden meditation into panic dread.

The face of the Virgin is ſlightly diſappointing. Giotto never reached a very high ſtandard of beauty in feature; depending much on diſtant effect in all his works, and therefore more on general arrangement of colour and ſincerity of geſture, than on refinement of drawing in the countenance.

XV.

THE SALUTATION.

This picture, placed beneath the figure of the Virgin Annunciate at the eaſt end of the chapel, and neceſſarily ſmall, (as will be ſeen by the plan,) in conſequence of the ſpace occupied by the arch which it flanks, begins the ſecond or lower ſeries of freſcoes; being, at the ſame time, the firſt of the great chain of more familiar ſubjects, in which we have the power of comparing the conceptions of Giotto not only with the deſigns of earlier ages, but with the efforts which ſubſequent maſters have made to exalt or vary the ideas of the principal ſcenes in the life of the Virgin and of Chriſt. The two paintings of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate hardly provoke ſuch a compariſon, being almoſt ſtatue-like in the calm ſubjection of all dramatic intereſt to the ſymmetrical dignity and beauty of the two figures, leading, as they do, the whole ſyſtem of the decoration of the chapel; but this of the Salutation is treated with no ſuch reference to the architecture, and at once challenges compariſon with the works of later maſters.

Nor is the challenge feebly maintained. I have no heſitation in ſaying, that, among all the renderings of this ſcene which now exiſt, I remember none which gives the

pure depth and plain facts of it ſo perfectly as this of Giotto's. Of majeſtic women bowing themſelves to beautiful and meek girls, both wearing gorgeous robes, in the midſt of lovely ſcenery, or at the doors of Palladian palaces, we have enough; but I do not know any picture which ſeems to me to give ſo truthful an idea of the action with which Elizabeth and Mary muſt actually have met,—which gives ſo exactly the way in which Elizabeth would ſtretch her arms, and ſtoop and gaze into Mary's face, and the way in which Mary's hand would ſlip beneath Elizabeth's arms, and raiſe her up to kiſs her. I know not any Elizabeth ſo full of intenſe love, and joy, and humbleneſs; hardly any Madonna in which tenderneſs and dignity are ſo quietly blended. She not leſs humble, and yet accepting the reverence of Elizabeth as her appointed portion, ſaying, in her ſimplicity and truth, "He that is mighty hath magnified me, and holy is His name." The longer that this group is looked upon, the more it will be felt that Giotto has done well to withdraw from it nearly all acceſſories of landſcape and adornment, and to truſt it to the power of its own deep expreſſion. We may gaze upon the two ſilent figures until their ſilence ſeems to be broken, and the words of the queſtion and reply ſound in our ears, low, as if from far away:

"Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord ſhould come to me?"

"My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, and my ſpirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

XVI.

THE NATIVITY.

I am not ſure whether I ſhall do well or kindly in telling the reader any thing about this beautiful deſign. Perhaps the leſs he knows about early art or early traditions, the more deeply he will feel its purity and truth; for there is ſcarcely an incident here, or any thing in the manner of repreſenting the incidents, which is not mentioned or juſtified in Scripture. The bold hilly background reminds us that Bethlehem was in the hill-country of Judah. But it may ſeem to have two purpoſes beſides this literal one: the firſt, that it increaſes the idea of *expoſure* and lonelineſs in the birth of Chriſt; the ſecond, that the maſſes of the great hills, with the angels floating round them in the horizontal clouds, may in ſome ſort repreſent to our thoughts the power and ſpace of that heaven and earth whoſe Lord is being laid in the manger-cradle.

There is an exquiſite truth and ſweetneſs in the way the Virgin turns upon the couch, in order herſelf to aſſiſt in laying the Child down. Giotto is in this exactly faithful to the scriptural words: "*She* wrapped the Child in ſwaddling-clothes, and *laid* Him in a manger." Joſeph ſits beneath in meditation; above, the angels, all exulting, and, as it were, confuſed with joy, flutter and circle in the

air like birds,—three looking up to the Father's throne with praiſe and thankfulneſs, one ſtooping to adore the Prince of Peace, one flying to tell the ſhepherds. There is ſomething to me peculiarly affecting in this diſorder of theirs; even angels, as it were, breaking their ranks with wonder, and not knowing how to utter their gladneſs and paſſion of praiſe. There is noticeable here, as in all works of this early time, a certain confidence in the way in which the angels truſt to their wings, very characteriſtic of a period of bold and ſimple conception. Modern ſcience has taught us that a wing cannot be anatomically joined to a ſhoulder; and in proportion as painters approach more and more to the ſcientific, as diſtinguiſhed from the contemplative ſtate of mind, they put the wings of their angels on more timidly, and dwell with greater emphaſis upon the human form, and with leſs upon the wings, until theſe laſt become a ſpecies of decorative appendage,—a mere *ſign* of an angel. But in Giotto's time an angel was a complete creature, as much believed in as a bird; and the way in which it would or might caſt itſelf into the air, and lean hither and thither upon its plumes, was as naturally apprehended as the manner of flight of a chough or a ſtarling. Hence Dante's ſimple and moſt exquiſite ſynonym for angel, "Bird of God;" and hence alſo a variety and pictureſqueneſs in the expreſſion of the movements of the heavenly hierarchies by the earlier painters, ill replaced by the powers of foreſhortening, and throwing naked limbs into fantaſtic poſitions, which appear in the cherubic groups of later times.

It is needleſs to point out the frank aſſociation of the

two events,—the Nativity, and appearance of the Angel to the Shepherds. They are conſtantly thus joined; but I do not remember any other example in which they are joined ſo boldly. Uſually the ſhepherds are ſeen in the diſtance, or are introduced in ſome ornamental border, or other inferior place. The view of painting as a mode of ſuggeſting relative or conſecutive thoughts, rather than a realiſation of any one ſcene, is ſeldom ſo fearleſſly aſſerted, even by Giotto, as here, in placing the flocks of the ſhepherds at the foot of the Virgin's bed.

This bed, it will be noticed, is on a ſhelf of rock. This is in compliance with the idea founded on the Protevangelion and the apocryphal book known as the Goſpel of Infancy, that our Saviour was born in a cave, aſſociated with the scriptural ſtatement that He was laid in a manger, of which the apocryphal goſpels do not ſpeak.

The vain endeavour to exalt the awe of the moment of the Saviour's birth has turned, in theſe goſpels, the outhouſe of the inn into a ſpecies of ſubterranean chapel, full of incenſe and candles. "It was after ſunſet, when "the old woman (the midwife), and Joſeph with her, "reached the cave; and they both went into it. And be- "hold, it was all filled with light, greater than the light "of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the "ſun itſelf." (Infancy, i. 9.) "Then a bright cloud "overſhadowed the cave, and the midwife ſaid: This day "my ſoul is magnified." (Protevangelion, xiv. 10.) The thirteenth chapter of the Protevangelion is, however, a little more ſkilful in this attempt at exaltation. "And leaving her and his ſons in the cave, Joſeph went

" forth to ſeek a Hebrew midwife in the village of Beth-
" lehem. But as I was going, ſaid Joſeph, I looked up
" into the air, and I ſaw the clouds aſtoniſhed, and the
" fowls of the air ſtopping in the midſt of their flight.
" And I looked down towards the earth and ſaw a table
" ſpread, and working-people ſitting around it; but their
" hands were on the table, and they did not move to eat.
" But all their faces were fixed upwards." (Protevange-
lion, xiii. 1-7.)

It would, of courſe, be abſurd to endeavour to inſti-
tute any compariſon between the various pictures of this
ſubject, innumerable as they are; but I muſt at leaſt
deprecate Lord Lindſay's characteriſing this deſign of
Giotto's merely as the " Byzantine compoſition." It
contains, indeed, nothing more than the materials of the
Byzantine compoſition; but I know no Byzantine Na-
tivity which at all reſembles it in the grace and life of its
action. And, for full a century after Giotto's time, in
northern Europe, the Nativity was repreſented in a far
more conventional manner than this;—uſually only the
heads of the ox and aſs are ſeen, and they are arranging,
or holding with their mouths, the drapery of the couch of
the Child, who is not being laid in it by the Virgin, but
raiſed upon a kind of tablet high above her in the centre
of the group. All theſe early deſigns, without exception,
however, agree in expreſſing a certain degree of languor
in the figure of the Virgin, and in making her recumbent
on the bed. It is not till the fifteenth century that ſhe is
repreſented as exempt from ſuffering, and immediately
kneeling in adoration before the Child.

XVII.

THE WISE MEN'S OFFERING.

This is a ſubject which has been ſo great a favourite with the painters of later periods, and on which ſo much rich incidental invention has been laviſhed, that Giotto's rendering of it cannot but be felt to be barren. It is, in fact, perhaps the leaſt powerful of all the ſeries; and its effect is further marred by what Lord Lindſay has partly noted, the appearance—perhaps accidental, but if ſo, exceedingly unſkilful—of matronly corpulence in the figure of the Madonna. The unfortunate failure in the repreſentation of the legs and cheſts of the camels, and the awkwardneſs of the attempt to render the action of kneeling in the foremoſt king, put the whole compoſition into the claſs—not in itſelf an unintereſting one—of the ſlips or ſhortcomings of great maſters. One incident in it only is worth obſerving. In other compoſitions of this time, and in many later ones, the kings are generally preſenting their offerings themſelves, and the Child takes them in His hand, or ſmiles at them. The painters who thought this an undignified conception left the preſents in the hands of the attendants of the Magi. But Giotto conſiders how preſents would be received by an actual

king; and as what has been offered to a monarch is delivered to the care of his attendants, Giotto puts a waiting angel to receive the gifts, as not worthy to be placed in the hands of the Infant.

XVIII.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

This deſign is one of thoſe which are peculiarly characteriſtic of Giotto as the head of the Naturaliſti.* No painter before his time would have dared to repreſent the Child Jeſus as deſiring to quit the arms of Simeon, or the Virgin as in ſome ſort interfering with the prophet's earneſt contemplation of the Child by ſtretching her arms to receive Him. The idea is evidently a falſe one, quite unworthy of the higher painters of the religious ſchool; and it is a matter of peculiar intereſt to ſee what muſt have been the ſtrength of Giotto's love of plain facts, which could force him to ſtoop ſo low in the conception of this moſt touching ſcene. The Child does not, it will be obſerved, merely ſtretch its arm to the Madonna, but is even ſtruggling to eſcape, violently raiſing the left foot. But there is another incident in the compoſition, witneſſing as notably to Giotto's powerful graſp of all the facts of his ſubject as this does to his ſomewhat hard and plain manner of graſping them;—I mean the angel approaching Simeon, as if with a meſſage. The peculiar intereſt of the Preſentation is for the moſt part inadequately repreſented in painting, becauſe it is impoſſible to

* See account of his principles above, p. 22, head C.

imply the fact of Simeon's having waited ſo long in the hope of beholding his Lord, or to inform the ſpectator of the feeling in which he utters the ſong of hope fulfilled. Giotto has, it ſeems to me, done all that he could to make us remember this peculiar meaning of the ſcene; for I think I cannot be deceived in interpreting the flying angel, with its branch of palm or lily, to be the Angel of Death, ſent in viſible fulfilment of the thankful words of Simeon: "Lord, now letteſt Thou Thy ſervant depart in peace." The figure of Anna is poor and unintereſting; that of the attendant, on the extreme left, very beautiful, both in its drapery and in the ſevere and elevated character of the features and head-dreſs.

XIX.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.

Giotto again ſhows, in his treatment of this ſubject, a juſter underſtanding of the probable facts than moſt other painters. It becomes the almoſt univerſal habit of later artiſts to regard the flight as both ſudden and ſecret, undertaken by Joſeph and Mary, unattended, in the dawn of the morning, or "by night," ſo ſoon as Joſeph had awaked from ſleep. (Matt. ii. 14.) Without a continuous miracle, which it is unneceſſary in this caſe to ſuppoſe, ſuch a lonely journey would have been nearly impracticable. Nor was inſtant flight neceſſary; for Herod's order for the maſſacre could not be iſſued until he had been convinced, by the protracted abſence of the Wiſe Men, that he was "mocked of them." In all probability the exact nature and extent of the danger was revealed to Joſeph; and he would make the neceſſary preparations for his journey with ſuch ſpeed as he could, and depart "by night" indeed, but not in the inſtant of awakening from his dream. The ordinary impreſſion ſeems to have been received from the words of the Goſpel of Infancy: "Go into Egypt *as ſoon as the cock crows.*" And the intereſt of the flight is rendered more thrilling, in late compoſitions, by the introduction of armed purſuers.

Giotto has given a far more quiet, deliberate, and probable character to the whole ſcene, while he has fully marked the fact of divine protection and command in the figure of the guiding angel. Nor is the picture leſs intereſting in its marked expreſſion of the night. The figures are all diſtinctly ſeen, and there is no broad diſtribution of the gloom; but the vigorous blackneſs of the dreſs of the attendant who holds the bridle, and the ſcattered glitter of the lights on the Madonna's robe, are enough to produce the required effect on the mind.

The figure of the Virgin is ſingularly dignified: the broad and ſevere curves traced by the hem and deepeſt folds of her dreſs materially conducing to the nobleneſs of the group. The Child is partly ſuſtained by a band faſtened round the Madonna's neck. The quaint and delicate pattern on this band, together with that of the embroidered edges of the dreſs, is of great value in oppoſing and making more manifeſt the ſevere and grave outlines of the whole figure, whoſe impreſſiveneſs is alſo partly increaſed by the riſe of the mountain juſt above it, like a tent. A vulgar compoſer would have moved this peak to the right or left, and loſt its power.

This mountain background is alſo of great uſe in deepening the ſenſe of gloom and danger on the deſert road. The trees repreſented as growing on the heights have probably been rendered indiſtinct by time. In early manuſcripts ſuch portions are invariably thoſe which ſuffer moſt; the green (on which the leaves were once drawn with dark colours) mouldering away, and the lines of drawing with it. But even in what is here left there is

noticeable more careful ſtudy of the diſtinction between the trees with thick ſpreading foliage, the group of two with light branches and few leaves, and the tree ſtripped and dead at the bottom of the ravine, than an hiſtorical painter would now think it conſiſtent with his dignity to beſtow.

XX.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

Of all the ſeries, this compoſition is the one which exhibits moſt of Giotto's weakneſſes. All early work is apt to fail in the rendering of violent action: but Giotto is, in this inſtance, inferior not only to his ſucceſſors, but to the feebleſt of the miniature-painters of the thirteenth century; while his imperfect drawing is ſeen at its worſt in the nude figures of the children. It is, in fact, almoſt impoſſible to underſtand how any Italian, familiar with the eager geſticulations of the lower orders of his countrywomen on the ſmalleſt points of diſpute with each other, ſhould have been incapable of giving more adequate expreſſion of true action and paſſion to the group of mothers; and, if I were not afraid of being accuſed of ſpecial pleading, I might inſiſt at ſome length on a dim faith of my own, that Giotto thought the actual agony and ſtrivings of the probable ſcene unfit for pictorial treatment, or for common contemplation; and that he choſe rather to give motionleſs types and perſonifications of the ſoldiers and women, than to uſe his ſtrength and realiſtic faculty in bringing before the vulgar eye the unſeemly ſtruggle or unſpeakable pain. The formal arrangement of the heap of corpſes in the centre of the group; the crowded

ſtanding of the mothers, as in a choir of ſorrow; the actual preſence of Herod, to whom ſome of them appear to be appealing,—all ſeem to me to mark this intention; and to make the compoſition only a ſymbol or ſhadow of the great deed of maſſacre, not a realiſation of its viſible continuance at any moment. I will not preſs this conjecture; but will only add, that if it be ſo, I think Giotto was perfectly right; and that a picture thus conceived might have been deeply impreſſive, had it been more ſucceſsfully executed; and a calmer, more continuous, comfortleſs grief expreſſed in the countenances of the women. Far better thus, than with the horrible analyſis of agony, and detail of deſpair, with which this ſame ſcene, one which ought never to have been made the ſubject of painting at all, has been gloated over by artiſts of more degraded times.

XXI.

THE YOUNG CHRIST IN THE TEMPLE.

This compoſition has ſuffered ſo grievouſly by time, that even the portions of it which remain are ſeen to the greateſt diſadvantage. Little more than various conditions of ſcar and ſtain can be now traced, where were once the draperies of the figures in the ſhade, and the ſuſpended garland and arches on the right hand of the ſpectator; and in endeavouring not to repreſent more than there is authority for, the draughtſman and engraver have neceſſarily produced a leſs ſatisfactory plate than moſt others of the ſeries. But Giotto has alſo himſelf fallen conſiderably below his uſual ſtandard. The faces appear to be cold and hard; and the attitudes are as little graceful as expreſſive either of attention or ſurpriſe. The Madonna's action, ſtretching her arms to embrace her Son, is pretty; but, on the whole, the picture has no value; and this is the more remarkable, as there were fewer precedents of treatment in this caſe than in any of the others; and it might have been anticipated that Giotto would have put himſelf to ſome pains when the field of thought was comparatively new. The ſubject of Chriſt teaching in the Temple rarely occurs in manuſcripts; but all the others were perpetually repeated in the ſervice-books of the period.

hic est filius meus dilectus

XXII.

THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

This is a more intereſting work than the laſt; but it is alſo gravely and ſtrangely deficient in power of entering into the ſubject; and this, I think, is common with nearly all efforts that have hitherto been made at its repreſentation. I have never ſeen a picture of the Baptiſm, by any painter whatever, which was not below the average power of the painter; and in this conception of Giotto's, the humility of St. John is entirely unexpreſſed, and the geſture of Chriſt has hardly any meaning: it neither is in harmony with the words, "Suffer it to be ſo now," which muſt have been uttered before the moment of actual baptiſm, nor does it in the ſlighteſt degree indicate the ſenſe in the Redeemer of now entering upon the great work of His miniſtry. In the earlier repreſentations of the ſubject, the humility of St. John is never loſt ſight of; there will be ſeen, for inſtance, an effort at expreſſing it by the ſlightly ſtooping attitude and bent knee, even in the very rude deſign given in outline on the oppoſite page. I have thought it worth while to ſet before the reader in this outline one example of the ſort of traditional repreſentations which were current throughout Chriſtendom before

Giotto aroſe. This inſtance is taken from a large choir-book, probably of French, certainly of Northern execution, towards the cloſe of the thirteenth century;* and it is a very fair average example of the manner of deſign in the illuminated work of the period. The introduction of the ſcroll, with the legend, "This is My beloved Son," is both more true to the scriptural words, "Lo, a voice from heaven," and more reverent, than Giotto's introduction of the viſible figure, as a type of the Firſt Perſon of the Trinity. The boldneſs with which this type is introduced increaſes preciſely as the religious ſentiment of art decreaſes; in the fifteenth century it becomes utterly revolting.

I have given this woodcut for another reaſon alſo: to explain more clearly the mode in which Giotto deduced the ſtrange form which he has given to the ſtream of the Jordan. In the earlier Northern works it is merely a green wave, riſing to the Saviour's waiſt, as ſeen in the woodcut. Giotto, for the ſake of getting ſtanding-ground for his figures, gives *ſhores* to this wave, retaining its ſwelling form in the centre,—a very painful and unſucceſsful attempt at reconciling typical drawing with laws of perſpective. Or perhaps it is leſs to be regarded as an effort at progreſs, than as an awkward combination of the Eaſtern and Weſtern types of the Jordan. In the difference between theſe types there is matter of ſome intereſt. Lord Lindſay, who merely characteriſes this work of

* The exact date, 1290, is given in the title-page of the volume.

Giotto's as "the Byzantine compoſition," thus deſcribes the uſual Byzantine manner of repreſenting the Baptiſm:

"The Saviour ſtands immerſed to the middle in Jordan (*flowing between two deep and rocky banks*), on one of which ſtands St. John, pouring the water on His head, and on the other two angels hold His robes. The Holy Spirit deſcends upon Him as a dove, in a ſtream of light, from God the Father, uſually repreſented by a hand from Heaven. Two of John's diſciples ſtand behind him as ſpectators. Frequently *the river-god of Jordan* reclines with his oars in the corner. * * * In the Baptiſtery at Ravenna, the robe is ſupported, not by an angel, but by the river-deity *Jordann* (Iordanes?), who holds in his left hand a reed as his ſceptre."

Now in this mode of repreſenting rivers there is ſomething more than the mere Pagan tradition lingering through the wrecks of the Eaſtern Empire. A river, in the Eaſt and South, is neceſſarily recogniſed more diſtinctly as a beneficent power than in the Weſt and North. The narroweſt and feebleſt ſtream is felt to have an influence on the life of mankind; and is counted among the poſſeſſions, or honoured among the deities, of the people who dwell beſide it. Hence the importance given, in the Byzantine compoſitions, to the name and ſpeciality of the Jordan ſtream. In the North ſuch peculiar definiteneſs and importance can never be attached to the name of any ſingle fountain. Water, in its various forms of ſtreamlet, rain, or river, is felt as an univerſal gift of heaven, not as an inheritance of a particular ſpot of earth. Hence,

with the Gothic artiſts generally, the perſonality of the Jordan is loſt in the green and nameleſs wave; and the ſimple rite of the Baptiſm is dwelt upon, without endeavouring, as Giotto has done, to draw the attention to the rocky ſhores of Bethabara and Ænon, or to the fact that "there was much water there."

XXIII.

THE MARRIAGE IN CANA.

It is ſtrange that the ſweet ſignificance of this firſt of the miracles ſhould have been loſt ſight of by nearly all artiſts after Giotto; and that no effort was made by them to conceive the circumſtances of it in ſimplicity. The poverty of the family in which the marriage took place, — proved ſufficiently by the fact that a carpenter's wife not only was aſked as a chief gueſt, but even had authority over the ſervants,—is ſhown further to have been diſtreſſful, or at leaſt embarraſſed, poverty by their want of wine on ſuch an occaſion. It was not certainly to remedy an accident of careleſs proviſion, but to ſupply a need ſorrowfully betraying the narrow circumſtances of His hoſts, that our Lord wrought the beginning of miracles. Many myſtic meanings have been ſought in the act, which, though there is no need to deny, there is little evidence to certify: but we may joyfully accept, as its firſt indiſputable meaning, that of ſimple kindneſs; the wine being provided here, when needed, as the bread and fiſh were afterwards for the hungry multitudes. The whole value of the miracle, in its ſerviceable tenderneſs, is at once effaced when the marriage is ſuppoſed, as by Veroneſe and other artiſts of later times, to have taken place at the

houſe of a rich man. For the reſt, Giotto ſufficiently implies, by the lifted hand of the Madonna, and the action of the fingers of the bridegroom, as if they held ſacramental bread, that there lay a deeper meaning under the miracle for thoſe who could accept it. How all miracle *is* accepted by common humanity, he has alſo ſhown in the figure of the ruler of the feaſt, drinking. This unregarding forgetfulneſs of preſent ſpiritual power is ſimilarly marked by Veroneſe, by placing the figure of a fool with his bauble immediately underneath that of Chriſt, and by making a cat play with her ſhadow in one of the wine-vaſes.

It is to be remembered, however, in examining all pictures of this ſubject, that the miracle was not made manifeſt to all the gueſts;—to none indeed, ſeemingly, except Chriſt's own diſciples: the ruler of the feaſt, and probably moſt of thoſe preſent (except the ſervants who drew the water), knew or obſerved nothing of what was paſſing, and merely thought the good wine had been "kept until now."

XXIV.

THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

In conſequence of the intermediate poſition which Giotto occupies between the Byzantine and Naturaliſt ſchools, two relations of treatment are to be generally noted in his work. As compared with the Byzantines, he is a realiſt, whoſe power conſiſts in the introduction of living character and various incidents, modifying the formerly received Byzantine ſymbols. So far as he has to do this, he is a realiſt of the pureſt kind, endeavouring always to conceive events preciſely as they were likely to have happened; not to idealiſe them into forms artfully impreſſive to the ſpectator. But in ſo far as he was compelled to retain, or did not wiſh to reject, the figurative character of the Byzantine ſymbols, he ſtands oppoſed to ſucceeding realiſts, in the quantity of meaning which probably lies hidden in any compoſition, as well as in the ſimplicity with which he will probably treat it, in order to enforce or guide to this meaning: the figures being often letters of a hieroglyphic, which he will not multiply, leſt he ſhould loſe in force of ſuggeſtion what he gained in dramatic intereſt.

None of the compoſitions diſplay more clearly this typical and reflective character than that of the Raiſing of

Lazarus. Later deſigners dwell on vulgar conditions of wonder or horror, ſuch as they could conceive likely to attend the reſuſcitation of a corpſe; but with Giotto the phyſical reanimation is the type of a ſpiritual one, and, though ſhown to be miraculous, is yet in all its deeper aſpects unperturbed, and calm in awfulneſs. It is alſo viſibly gradual. "His face was bound about with a napkin." The neareſt Apoſtle has withdrawn the covering from the face, and looks for the command which ſhall reſtore it from waſted corruption, and ſealed blindneſs, to living power and light.

Nor is it, I believe, without meaning, that the two Apoſtles, if indeed they are intended for Apoſtles, who ſtand at Lazarus' ſide, wear a different dreſs from thoſe who follow Chriſt. I ſuppoſe them to be intended for images of the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Churches in their miniſtration to the dead ſoul: the one removing its bonds, but looking to Chriſt for the word and power of life; the other inactive and helpleſs—the veil upon its face—in dread; while the principal figure fulfils the order it receives in fearleſs ſimplicity.

XXV.

THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

This deſign ſuffers much from loſs of colour in tranſlation. Its decorative effect depends on the deep blue ground, relieving the delicate foliage and the local colours of dreſſes and architecture. It is alſo one of thoſe which are moſt directly oppoſed to modern feeling: the ſympathy of the ſpectator with the paſſion of the crowd being ſomewhat rudely checked by the groteſque action of two of the foremoſt figures. We ought, however, rather to envy the deep ſeriouſneſs which could not be moved from dwelling on the real power of the ſcene by any ungracefulneſs or familiarity of circumſtance. Among men whoſe minds are rightly toned, nothing is ludicrous: it muſt, if an act, be either right or wrong, noble or baſe; if a thing ſeen, it muſt either be ugly or beautiful: and what is either wrong or deformed is not, among noble perſons, in anywiſe ſubject for laughter; but, in the preciſe degree of its wrongneſs or deformity, a ſubject of horror. All perception of what, in the modern European mind, falls under the general head of the ludicrous, is either childiſh or profane; often healthy, as indicative of vigorous animal life, but always degraded in its relation to manly con-

ditions of thought. It has a ſecondary uſe in its power of detecting vulgar impoſture; but it only obtains this power by denying the higheſt truths.

XXVI.

THE EXPULSION FROM THE TEMPLE.

More properly, the Expulſion from the outer Court of the Temple (Court of Gentiles), as Giotto has indicated by placing the porch of the Temple itſelf in the background.

The deſign ſhows, as clearly as that of the Maſſacre of the Innocents, Giotto's want of power, and partly of deſire, to repreſent rapid or forceful action. The raiſing of the right hand, not holding any ſcourge, reſembles the action afterwards adopted by Oreagna, and finally by Michael Angelo in his Laſt Judgment: and my belief is, that Giotto conſidered this act of Chriſt's as partly typical of the final judgment, the Phariſees being placed on the left hand, and the diſciples on the right. From the faded remains of the freſco, the draftſman could not determine what animals are intended by thoſe on the left hand. But the moſt curious incident (ſo far as I know, found only in this deſign of the Expulſion, no ſubſequent painter repeating it), is the ſheltering of the two children, one of them carrying a dove, under the arm and cloak of two diſciples. Many meanings might eaſily be ſuggeſted in this; but I ſee no evidence for the adoption of any diſtinct one.

XXVII.

THE HIRING OF JUDAS.

The only point of material intereſt preſented by this deſign is the decrepit and diſtorted ſhadow of the demon, reſpecting which it may be well to remind the reader that all the great Italian thinkers concurred in aſſuming decrepitude or diſeaſe, as well as uglineſs, to be a characteriſtic of all natures of evil. Whatever the extent of the power granted to evil ſpirits, it was always abominable and contemptible; no element of beauty or heroiſm was ever allowed to remain, however obſcured, in the aſpect of a fallen angel. Alſo, the demoniacal nature was ſhown in acts of betrayal, torture, or wanton hoſtility; never in valiancy or perſeverance of conteſt. I recollect no mediæval demon who ſhows as much inſulting, reſiſting, or contending power as Bunyan's Apollyon. They can only cheat, undermine, and mock; never overthrow. Judas, as we ſhould naturally anticipate, has not in this ſcene the nimbus of an Apoſtle; yet we ſhall find it reſtored to him in the next deſign. We ſhall diſcover the reaſon of this only by a careful conſideration of the meaning of that freſco.

XXVIII.

THE LAST SUPPER.

I have not examined the original freſco with care enough to be able to ſay whether the unintereſting quietneſs of its deſign is redeemed by more than ordinary attention to expreſſion; it is one of the leaſt attractive ſubjects in the Arena Chapel, and always ſure to be paſſed over in any general obſervation of the ſeries: nevertheleſs, however unfavourably it may at firſt contraſt with the deſigns of later maſters, and eſpecially with Leonardo's, the reader ſhould not fail to obſerve that Giotto's aim, had it been ſucceſſful, was the higher of the two, as giving truer rendering of the probable fact. There is no diſtinct evidence, in the ſacred text, of the annunciation of coming treachery having produced among the diſciples the violent ſurpriſe and agitation repreſented by Leonardo. Naturally, they would not at firſt underſtand what was meant. They knew nothing diſtinctly of the machinations of the prieſts; and ſo little of the character or purpoſes of Judas, that even after he had received the ſop which was to point him out to the others as falſe;—and after they had heard the injunction, "That thou doeſt, do quickly," —the other diſciples had ſtill no conception of the ſignificance, either of the ſaying, or the act: they thought that

Chriſt meant he was to buy ſomething for the feaſt. Nay, Judas himſelf, ſo far from ſtarting, as a convicted traitor, and thereby betraying himſelf, as in Leonardo's picture, had not, when Chriſt's firſt words were uttered, any immediately active intention formed. The devil had not entered into him until he received the ſop. The paſſage in St. John's account is a curious one, and little noticed; but it marks very diſtinctly the paralyſed ſtate of the man's mind. He had talked with the prieſts, covenanted with them, and even ſought opportunity to bring Jeſus into their hands; but while ſuch opportunity was wanting, the act had never preſented itſelf fully to him for adoption or rejection. He had toyed with it, dreamed over it, heſitated, and procraſtinated over it, as a ſtupid and cowardly perſon would, ſuch as traitors are apt to be. But the way of retreat was yet open; the conqueſt of the tempter not complete. Only after receiving the ſop the idea *finally* preſented itſelf clearly, and was accepted, "To-night, while He is in the garden, I can do it; and I will." And Giotto has indicated this diſtinctly by giving Judas ſtill the Apoſtle's nimbus, both in this ſubject and in that of the Waſhing of the Feet; while it is taken away in the previous ſubject of the Hiring, and the following one of the Seizure: thus it fluctuates, expires, and reillumines itſelf, until his fall is conſummated. This being the general ſtate of the Apoſtles' knowledge, the words, "One of you ſhall betray me," would excite no feeling in their minds correſpondent to that with which we now read the prophetic ſentence. What this "giving up" of their Maſter meant became a queſtion of bitter and ſelf-ſearching

thought with them,—gradually of intenſe ſorrow and queſtioning. But had they underſtood it in the ſenſe we now underſtand it, they would never have each aſked, "Lord, is it I?" Peter believed himſelf incapable even of *denying* Chriſt: and of giving Him up to death for money, every one of His true diſciples *knew* themſelves incapable; the thought never occurred to them. In ſlowly-increaſing wonder and ſorrow (ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι, Mark xiv. 19), not knowing what was meant, they aſked one by one, with pauſes between, "Is it I?" and another, "Is it I?" and this ſo quietly and timidly that the one who was lying on Chriſt's breaſt never ſtirred from his place; and Peter, afraid to ſpeak, ſigned to him to aſk who it was. One further circumſtance, ſhowing that this was the real ſtate of their minds, we ſhall find Giotto take cogniſance of in the next freſco.

XXIX.

THE WASHING OF THE FEET.

In this deſign, it will be obſerved, there are ſtill the twelve diſciples, and the nimbus is yet given to Judas (though, as it were, ſetting, his face not being ſeen).

Conſidering the deep intereſt and importance of every circumſtance of the Laſt Supper, I cannot underſtand how preachers and commentators paſs by the difficulty of clearly underſtanding the periods indicated in St. John's account of it. It ſeems that Chriſt muſt have riſen while they were ſtill eating, muſt have waſhed their feet as they ſate or reclined at the table, juſt as the Magdalen had waſhed His own feet in the Phariſee's houſe; that, this done, He returned to the table, and the diſciples continuing to eat, preſently gave the ſop to Judas. For St. John ſays, that he having received the ſop, went *immediately* out; yet that Chriſt had waſhed his feet is certain, from the words, "Ye are clean, but not all." Whatever view the reader may, on deliberation, chooſe to accept, Giotto's is clear, namely, that though not cleanſed by the baptiſm, Judas was yet capable of being cleanſed. The devil had not entered into him at the time of the waſhing of the feet, and he retains the ſign of an Apoſtle.

The compoſition is one of the moſt beautiful of the ſeries, eſpecially owing to the ſubmiſſive grace of the two ſtanding figures.

XXX.

THE KISS OF JUDAS.

For the firſt time we have Giotto's idea of the face of the traitor clearly ſhown. It is not, I think, traceable through any of the previous ſeries; and it has often ſurpriſed me to obſerve how impoſſible it was in the works of almoſt any of the ſacred painters to determine by the mere caſt of feature which was meant for the falſe Apoſtle. Here, however, Giotto's theory of phyſiognomy, and together with it his idea of the character of Judas, are perceivable enough. It is evident that he looks upon Judas mainly as a ſenſual dullard, and foul-brained fool; a man in no reſpect exalted in bad eminence of treachery above the maſs of common traitors, but merely a diſtinct type of the eternal treachery to good, in vulgar men, which ſtoops beneath, and oppoſes in its appointed meaſure, the life and efforts of all noble perſons, their natural enemies in this world; as the ſlime lies under a clear ſtream running through an earthy meadow. Our careleſs and thoughtleſs Engliſh uſe of the word into which the Greek "Diabolos" has been ſhortened, blinds us in general to the meaning of "Devilry," which, in its eſſence, is nothing elſe than ſlander, or traitorhood;—the accuſing and giving up of good. In particular it has

blinded us to the meaning of Chriſt's words, "Have not I choſen you twelve, and one of you is a traitor and accuſer?" and led us to think that the "one of you is a devil" indicated ſome greater than human wickedneſs in Judas; whereas the practical meaning of the entire fact of Judas' miniſtry and fall is, that out of any twelve men choſen for the forwarding of any purpoſe,—or, much more, out of any twelve men we meet,—one, probably, is or will be a Judas.

The modern German renderings of all the ſcenes of Chriſt's life in which the traitor is conſpicuous are very curious in their vulgar miſunderſtanding of the hiſtory, and their conſequent endeavours to repreſent Judas as more diabolic than ſelfiſh, treacherous, and ſtupid men are in all their generations. They paint him uſually projected againſt ſtrong effects of light, in lurid chiaroſcuro;—enlarging the whites of his eyes, and making him frown, grin, and gnaſh his teeth on all occaſions, ſo as to appear among the other Apoſtles invariably in the aſpect of a Gorgon.

How much more deeply Giotto has fathomed the fact, I believe all men will admit who have ſufficient purity and abhorrence of falſehood to recogniſe it in its daily preſence, and who know how the devil's ſtrongeſt work is done for him by men who are too beſtial to underſtand what they betray.

XXXI.

CHRIST BEFORE CAIAPHAS.

Little is to be obſerved in this deſign of any diſtinctive merit; it is only a ſomewhat completer verſion of the ordinary repreſentation given in illuminated miſſals and other conventual work, ſuggeſting, as if they had happened at the ſame moment, the anſwer, "If I have ſpoken evil, bear witneſs of the evil," and the accuſation of blaſphemy which cauſes the high-prieſt to rend his clothes.

Apparently diſtruſtful of his power of obtaining intereſt of a higher kind, Giotto has treated the enrichments more carefully than uſual, down even to the ſteps of the high-prieſt's ſeat. The torch and barred ſhutters conſpicuouſly indicate its being now dead of night. That the torch is darker than the chamber, if not an error in the drawing, is probably the conſequence of a darkening alteration in the yellow colours uſed for the flame.

XXXII.

THE SCOURGING OF CHRIST.

It is characteriſtic of Giotto's rational and human view of all ſubjects admitting ſuch aſpect, that he has inſiſted here chiefly on the dejection and humiliation of Chriſt, making no attempt to ſuggeſt to the ſpectator any other divinity than that of patience made perfect through ſuffering. Angelico's conception of the ſame ſubject is higher and more myſtical. He takes the moment when Chriſt is blindfolded, and exaggerates almoſt into monſtroſity the vileneſs of feature and bitterneſs of ſneer in the queſtioners, "Propheſy unto us, who is he that ſmote thee;" but the bearing of the perſon of Chriſt is entirely calm and unmoved; and his eyes, open, are ſeen through the binding veil, indicating the ceaſeleſs omniſcience.

This myſtical rendering is, again, rejected by the later realiſtic painters; but while the earlier deſigners, with Giotto at their head, dwelt chiefly on the humiliation and the mockery, later painters dwelt on the phyſical pain. In Titian's great picture of this ſubject in the Louvre, one of the executioners is thruſting the thorn-crown down upon the brow with his rod, and the action of Chriſt is that of a perſon ſuffering extreme phyſical agony.

No repreſentations of the ſcene exiſt, to my know-

ledge, in which the mockery is either ſuſtained with indifference, or rebuked by any ſtern or appealing expreſſion of feature; yet one of theſe two forms of endurance would appear, to a modern habit of thought, the moſt natural and probable.

XXXIII.

CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS.

This deſign is one of great nobleneſs and ſolemnity in the iſolation of the principal figure, and removal of all motives of intereſt depending on acceſſories, or merely temporary incidents. Even the Virgin and her attendant women are kept in the background; all appeal for ſympathy through phyſical ſuffering is diſdained. Chriſt is not repreſented as borne down by the weight of the Croſs, nor as urged forward by the impatience of the executioners. The thing to be ſhown,—the unſpeakable myſtery,—is the ſimple fact, the Bearing of the Croſs by the Redeemer. It would be vain to compare the reſpective merits or value of a deſign thus treated, and of one like Veroneſe's of this ſame ſubject, in which every eſſential acceſſory and probable incident is completely conceived. The abſtract and ſymbolical ſuggeſtion will always appeal to one order of minds, the dramatic completeneſs to another. Unqueſtionably, the laſt is the greater achievement of intellect, but the manner and habit of thought are perhaps loftier in Giotto. Veroneſe leads us to perceive the reality of the act, and Giotto to underſtand its intention.

XXXIV.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

The treatment of this ſubject was, in Giotto's time, ſo rigidly fixed by tradition that it was out of his power to diſplay any of his own ſpecial modes of thought; and, as in the Bearing of the Croſs, ſo here, but yet more diſtinctly, the temporary circumſtances are little regarded, the ſignificance of the event being alone cared for. But even long after this time, in all the pictures of the Crucifixion by the great maſters, with the ſingle exception perhaps of that by Tintoret in the Church of San Caſſano at Venice, there is a tendency to treat the painting as a ſymmetrical image, or collective ſymbol of ſacred myſteries, rather than as a dramatic repreſentation. Even in Tintoret's great Crucifixion in the School of St. Roch, the group of fainting women forms a kind of pedeſtal for the Croſs. The flying angels in the compoſition before us are thus alſo treated with a reſtraint hardly paſſing the limits of decorative ſymboliſm. The fading away of their figures into flame-like cloud may perhaps be founded on the verſe, "He maketh His angels ſpirits; His miniſters a flame of fire" (though erroneouſly, the right reading of that verſe being, "He maketh the winds His meſſengers, and the flaming fire His ſervant"); but it ſeems to me to give a greater ſenſe of poſſible truth than the entire figures, treading the clouds with naked feet, of Perugino and his ſucceſſors.

XXXV.

THE ENTOMBMENT.

I do not conſider that in fulfilling the taſk of interpreter intruſted to me, with reſpect to this ſeries of engravings, I may in general permit myſelf to unite with it the duty of a critic. But in the execution of a laborious ſeries of engravings, ſome muſt of courſe be better, ſome worſe; and it would be unjuſt, no leſs to the reader than to Giotto, if I allowed this plate to paſs without ſome admiſſion of its inadequacy. It may poſſibly have been treated with a little leſs care than the reſt, in the knowledge that the finiſhed plate, already in the poſſeſſion of the members of the Arundel Society, ſuperſeded any effort with inferior means; be that as it may, the tenderneſs of Giotto's compoſition is, in the engraving before us, loſt to an unuſual degree.

It may be generally obſerved that the paſſionateneſs of the ſorrow both of the Virgin and diſciples, is repreſented by Giotto and all great following deſigners as reaching its criſis at the Entombment, not at the Crucifixion. The expectation that, after experiencing every form of human ſuffering, Chriſt would yet come down from the croſs, or in ſome other viſible and immediate manner achieve for Himſelf the victory, might be conceived to have ſupported

in a meaſure the minds of thoſe among His diſciples who watched by His croſs. But when the agony was cloſed by actual death, and the full ſtrain was put upon their faith, by their laying in the ſepulchre, wrapped in His grave-clothes, Him in whom they truſted, "that it had been He which ſhould have redeemed Iſrael," their ſorrow became ſuddenly hopeleſs; a gulf of horror opened, almoſt at unawares, under their feet; and in the poignancy of her aſtonied deſpair, it was no marvel that the agony of the Madonna in the "Pietà" became ſubordinately aſſociated in the mind of the early Church with that of their Lord Himſelf;—a type of conſummate human ſuffering.

XXXVI.

THE RESURRECTION.

Quite one of the loveliest designs of the series. It was a favourite subject with Giotto; meeting, in all its conditions, his love of what was most mysterious, yet most comforting and full of hope, in the doctrines of his religion. His joy in the fact of the Resurrection, his sense of its function, as the key and primal truth of Christianity, was far too deep to allow him to dwell on any of its minor circumstances, as later designers did, representing the moment of bursting the tomb, and the supposed terror of its guards. With Giotto the leading thought is not of physical reanimation, nor of the momentarily exerted power of breaking the bars of the grave; but the consummation of Christ's work in the first manifesting to human eyes, and the eyes of one who had loved Him and believed in Him, His power to take again the life He had laid down. This first appearance to her out of whom He had cast seven devils is indeed the very central fact of the Resurrection. The keepers had not seen Christ; they had seen only the angel descending, whose countenance was like lightning: for fear of him they became as dead; yet this fear, though great enough to cause them to swoon, was so far conquered at the return of morning, that they were ready to take

money-payment for giving a falſe report of the circumſtances. The Magdalen, therefore, is the firſt witneſs of the Reſurrection; to the love, for whoſe ſake much had been forgiven, this gift is alſo firſt given; and as the firſt witneſs of the truth, ſo ſhe is the firſt meſſenger of the Goſpel. To the Apoſtles it was granted to proclaim the Reſurrection to all nations; but the Magdalen was bidden to proclaim it to the Apoſtles.

In the chapel of the Bargello, Giotto has rendered this ſcene with yet more paſſionate ſympathy. Here, however, its ſignificance is more thoughtfully indicated through all the acceſſories, down even to the withered trees above the ſepulchre, while thoſe of the garden burſt into leaf. This could hardly eſcape notice, when the barren boughs were compared by the ſpectator with the rich foliage of the neighbouring deſigns, though, in the detached plate, it might eaſily be loſt ſight of.

XXXVII.

THE ASCENSION.

Giotto continues to exert all his ſtrength on theſe cloſing ſubjects. None of the Byzantine or earlier Italian painters ventured to introduce the entire figure of Chriſt in this ſcene: they ſhowed the feet only, concealing the body; according to the text, "a cloud received Him out of their ſight." This compoſition, graceful as it is daring, conveys the idea of aſcending motion more forcibly than any that I remember by other than Venetian painters. Much of its power depends on the continuity of line obtained by the half-floating figures of the two warning angels.

I cannot underſtand why this ſubject was ſo ſeldom treated by religious painters: for the harmony of Chriſtian creed depends as much upon it as on the Reſurrection itſelf; while the circumſtances of the Aſcenſion, in their brightneſs, promiſe, miraculouſneſs, and direct appeal to all the aſſembled Apoſtles, ſeem more fitted to attract the joyful contemplation of all who received the faith. How morbid, and how deeply to be mourned, was the temper of the Church which could not be ſatiſfied without perpetual repreſentation of the tortures of Chriſt; but rarely dwelt on His triumph! How more than ſtrange the con-

ceſſions to this feebleneſs by its greateſt teachers; ſuch as that of Titian, who, though he paints the Aſſumption of the Madonna rather than a Pietà, paints the Scourging and the Entombment of Chriſt, with his beſt power,—but never the Aſcenſion!

XXXVIII.

THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

This laſt ſubject of the ſeries, the quieteſt and leaſt intereſting in treatment, yet illuſtrates sadly, and forcibly, the vital difference between ancient and modern art.

The worſt characters of modern work reſult from its conſtant appeal to our deſire of change, and pathetic excitement; while the beſt features of the elder art appealed to love of contemplation. It would appear to be the object of the trueſt artiſts to give permanence to images ſuch as we ſhould always deſire to behold, and might behold without agitation; while the inferior branches of deſign are concerned with the acuter paſſions which depend on the turn of a narrative, or the courſe of an emotion. Where it is poſſible to unite theſe two ſources of pleaſure, and, as in the Aſſumption of Titian, an action of abſorbing intereſt is united with perfect and perpetual elements of beauty, the higheſt point of conception would appear to have been touched: but in the degree in which the intereſt of action *ſuperſedes* beauty of form and colour, the art is lowered; and where real deformity enters, in any other degree than as a momentary ſhadow or oppoſing force, the art is illegitimate. Such art can exiſt only by accident, when a nation has forgotten or betrayed the eternal purpoſes of its

genius, and gives birth to painters whom it cannot teach, and to teachers whom it will not hear. The beſt talents of all our Engliſh painters have been ſpent either in endeavours to find room for the expreſſion of feelings which no maſter guided to a worthy end, or to obtain the attention of a public whoſe mind was dead to natural beauty, by ſharpneſs of ſatire, or variety of dramatic circumſtance.

The work to which England is now devoting herſelf withdraws her eyes from beauty, as her heart from reſt; nor do I conceive any revival of great art to be poſſible among us while the nation continues in its preſent temper. As long as it can bear to ſee miſery and ſqualor in its ſtreets, it can neither invent nor accept human beauty in its pictures; and ſo long as in paſſion of rivalry, or thirſt of gain, it cruſhes the roots of happineſs, and forſakes the ways of peace, the great ſouls whom it may chance to produce will all paſs away from it helpleſs, in error, in wrath, or in ſilence. Amiable viſionaries may retire into the delight of devotional abſtraction, ſtrong men of the world may yet hope to do ſervice by their rebuke or their ſatire; but for the clear ſight of Love there will be no horizon, for its quiet words no anſwer; nor any place for the art which alone is faithfully Religious, becauſe it is Lovely and True.

The ſeries of engravings thus completed, while they preſent no characters on which the members of the Arundel Society can juſtifiably pride themſelves, have,

nevertheleſs, a real and effective value, if conſidered as a ſeries of maps of the Arena freſcoes. Few artiſts of eminence paſs through Padua without making ſtudies of detached portions of the decoration of this Chapel, while no artiſt has time to complete drawings of the whole. Such fragmentary ſtudies might now at any time be engraved with advantage, their place in the ſeries being at once determinable by reference to the woodcuts; while qualities of expreſſion could often be obtained in engravings of ſingle figures, which are ſure to be loſt in an entire ſubject. The moſt refined character is occaſionally dependent on a few happy and light touches, which, in a ſingle head, are effective, but are too feeble to bear due part in an entire compoſition, while, in the endeavour to reinforce them, their vitality is loſt. I believe the members of the Arundel Society will perceive, eventually, that no copies of works of great art are worthily repreſentative of them but ſuch as are made freely, and for their own purpoſes, by great painters: the beſt reſults obtainable by mechanical effort will only be charts or plans of pictures, not mirrors of them. Such charts it is well to command in as great number as poſſible, and with all attainable completeneſs; but the Society cannot be conſidered as having entered on its true functions until it has obtained the hearty co-operation of European artiſts, and by the increaſe of its members, the further power of repreſenting the ſubtle ſtudies of maſterly painters by the aid of exquiſite engraving.

ROBSON, LEVEY, AND FRANKLYN, GREAT NEW STREET AND FETTER LANE.

THE

Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian,

PAINTED IN FRESCO BY

PIETRO PERUGINO,

IN THE CHAPEL OF THE SAINT, AT PANICALE.

ON one of the wooded hills rising above the lake of Perugia stands the small town of Panicale. Its half-ruined walls and towers show that it was a fortified post of some importance during the middle ages. Away from the high roads leading to the principal cities of central Italy, it is seldom visited by the traveller, who would scarcely find in it the miserable shelter of an Italian 'osteria.' Yet, like almost every town and hamlet of this favoured land, it contains works of Art such as elsewhere would render a city famous. Outside the walls, on an olive-clad eminence overlooking the town, is a convent of nuns. Attached to it is a chapel dedicated to S. Sebastian. The wall behind its high altar is covered with a fresco representing the martyrdom of the Saint. It is the work, and may be ranked amongst the finest, of a painter who, by his genius, and the influence he exercised upon his great contemporaries, forms an epoch in the history of Art—Pietro Vannucci, or, as he is more commonly called, from the city in which he principally laboured and founded his school, 'Il Perugino.'

This noble work, although mentioned in most lives of the Painter, is unnoticed by his first biographer, Vasari. It has consequently been overlooked, even by those who have made the history of the Art of his period a study. My attention was first called to it by the Count Giancarlo Conestabile, a nobleman of fine taste and extensive knowledge, under the protection of whose ancestors Pietro himself painted, and who still proudly keeps, as the best heir-loom of his family, one of Raphael's earliest and most lovely conceptions, the 'Staffa Madonna.' We rode to Panicale along the borders of the blue lake, through the oak-woods mirrored on its surface, and were hospitably entertained by Signor Mariani, who, as the medical officer of the commune, had lived there for many years.

After examining most of the principal frescoes in central Italy, I was surprised at the condition in which I found this painting. Although the highest development of the genius of the early Italian painters is to be found in their frescoes, of all their works they are those which have unfortunately suffered the most. Usually painted in the side-chapels or behind the principal altars of churches, they have been exposed to many sources of injury. The ill-repaired roof and walls admit the rain and damp. On festivals tawdry hangings are unmercifully nailed over them, the hammer and the ladder each having its share in the process of destruction. Then torches blaze round the shrine and blacken the walls during the sacred ceremonies. But neither the fumes of incense nor the smoke of candles have dimmed this master-piece of the Perugian Painter. The colour is still as bright and transparent as when first laid on the damp plaster, retaining that brilliancy which distinguishes true fresco-painting. The only injury the picture has sustained has

been caused by large nails driven into the wall to suspend a veil with which it has been deemed becoming, as the chapel is attached to a convent, to cover the nude figure of the Saint.

Of the numerous works of Pietro Perugino I scarcely know one that displays to greater advantage the peculiar characteristics of the master, the delicate tenderness of his colouring, the grace, verging on weakness, of his forms, the exquisite purity and sentiment of his heads, the general correctness of his drawing, and his somewhat scattered composition. It has all the best qualities of the Umbrian School, inherited by Pietro from his first instructors in the Art, Benedetto Bonfigli, of Perugia, and Niccolò Alunno, a native of Foligno, whose altar-pieces, remarkable for their glow of colour, and the simple beauty of their holy groups, still adorn the churches in the valley of the Tiber. But in it Pietro shows, at the same time, that he had been imbued with the spirit of that great school which flourished in Florence, and whose teachings he had early sought. It has less of his weakness and mannerism, and more of his strength, than most of his paintings, displaying those qualities which the genius of his immortal pupil at once culled from his works.

The Martyr occupies the centre of the composition, and forms the principal object in it. He is bound to a porphyry column raised on a pedestal. The exquisite proportions of the figure, the admirable delineation of all its parts, show the study devoted by Pietro to the human form. The tender expression of devotion in the upturned head, slightly inclined over the right shoulder, is peculiar to the school, but does not in this instance degenerate into

affectation. The Painter has united in this beautiful figure, without exaggeration, the utmost grace with the deepest religious feeling. A more perfect and touching representation of the Christian Martyr could not be conceived. Wrapped in the contemplation of the holy vision of the Eternal Father, surrounded by Angels and Cherubim floating in the clouds above him, he shows no sense of bodily pain. That the spectator may alone contemplate the divine resignation of the Saint, the instruments of torture are kept as much as possible out of sight. How different this treatment of the subject from that of Pietro's contemporaries and of the earlier painters, who, by violent contortions of the body and countenance, or by a multitude of arrows and streams of blood, sought to represent the physical sufferings of the victim! How different, too, from that of the later masters, who chose a holy theme for mere anatomical display, and to prove their knowledge of the tricks of a school!

Even the executioners seem to have imbibed the spirit of the Christian hero, and to perform their duty with melancholy tenderness. The heads of the archers are of singular beauty and grace—reminding us of Raphael. This resemblance is still further carried out in their attitudes and forms, and in the bright clear colouring.

Two groups of spectators, sketched in that free and graceful manner peculiar to Pietro, occupy the background, and serve to complete the composition.

The scene of the Martyrdom is represented in a magnificent hall. The Painter loved to introduce rich architectural ornaments into his works, and to show that knowledge of perspective which he had

acquired from the greatest master of the science in that age, Pietro della Francesca. An open arcade is remarkable for the elegance of design which Pietro was at that time displaying in the decoration of the cathedral and principal buildings of his adopted city. Between the arches are seen the hills round Panicale and the distant blue lake, a calm, beautiful prospect, well befitting the subject, and rendered with singular tenderness and truth.

On the pedestal supporting the Martyr is inscribed the name of the painter, and on the pilasters of the arcade the date 1505. Pietro was then in the fifty-ninth year of his age. About ten years previously he had settled in Perugia, after his fame had been established by the execution of great works in Florence and in Rome. The city had conferred upon him the right of citizenship, and had even raised him to the dignity of one of its ten 'Priori,' or magistrates. During these ten years he had painted his finest pictures, amongst them the altar-piece for the Certosa of Pavia, now in the National Gallery. In Perugia and the neighbouring towns he decorated the principal buildings and churches. The celebrated frescoes in the 'Cambio,' or Exchange, and the adjoining chapel, were executed in 1500; the Adoration of the Magi at his native place, Citta della Pieve, in 1504. His powers were at their height when he painted the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian at Panicale.

At this time the fame of his school had spread through Italy, and had brought to him his most distinguished scholars, L'Ingegno, Lo Spagna, Tiberio d'Assisi, and many others, whose paintings have been so frequently confounded with those of their master. They aided him in his great undertakings, and rendered them perfect

and complete in their most minute details. Before he executed the fresco at Panicale, Raphael had already left him, and was probably painting at Florence or Siena. Consequently, there are no traces of his pencil in it. It is important to mention this fact, as there are parts of the picture which might otherwise be ascribed to that great painter.

It seemed to me that it would be difficult to find a work more characteristic of Pietro Perugino, uniting more of his best qualities, and therefore more deserving of publication by the Arundel Society, than this fresco. I was fortunate in finding at Perugia a young artist who had made the school of Umbria his study, and who could copy with feeling and truth the productions of its great masters. Signor Mariannecci executed in water-colours, at my request, the drawing from which the lithotint has been copied. The Council of the Arundel Society have deemed it worthy of publication, and I have confided it to them in the hope that it will prove the first of a new series illustrative of the frescoes of Italy, the most noble works of her greatest painters.

It is difficult, in reducing works of this nature within the size required for publication, to convey the full expression of the heads, and those details which render the peculiar feeling of the master. It has been thought advisable, therefore, that the coloured plate should be accompanied by careful outlines which I had commissioned Signor Bartoccini to engrave from tracings made upon the originals; these outlines will afford at the same time materials for study.

There is no record, I believe, of the sum received by Pietro for the Panicale fresco, but there is a curious correspondence still preserved in the archives of Perugia relating to it. From these letters it appears that in the year 1507, or two years after its completion, the people of Panicale sent an emissary to the Painter, requesting him to lend the commune some standards of silk painted with figures, to be carried in the annual procession of the 'Corpus Domini.' Pietro offered to paint fourteen expressly for the festival, on condition that they should be returned unless the balance of eleven florins, owing to him for the fresco of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, were previously paid. The Panicalese accepted the offer; and a receipt, dated the 1st of September of the same year, shows that they paid the money and kept the standards. This is an instance, among many that could be cited, of the liberality of a painter whom Vasari accuses of meanness.

Pietro Perugino repeated the subject of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian more than once, introducing in these repetitions figures from the Panicale fresco. Amongst them may be mentioned a picture on panel, existing in the church of San Francesco de' Conventuali, at Perugia, executed thirteen years later, when age had weakened his powers.

A. H. LAYARD.

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PUBLICATION OF THE EIGHTH YEAR, 1856.

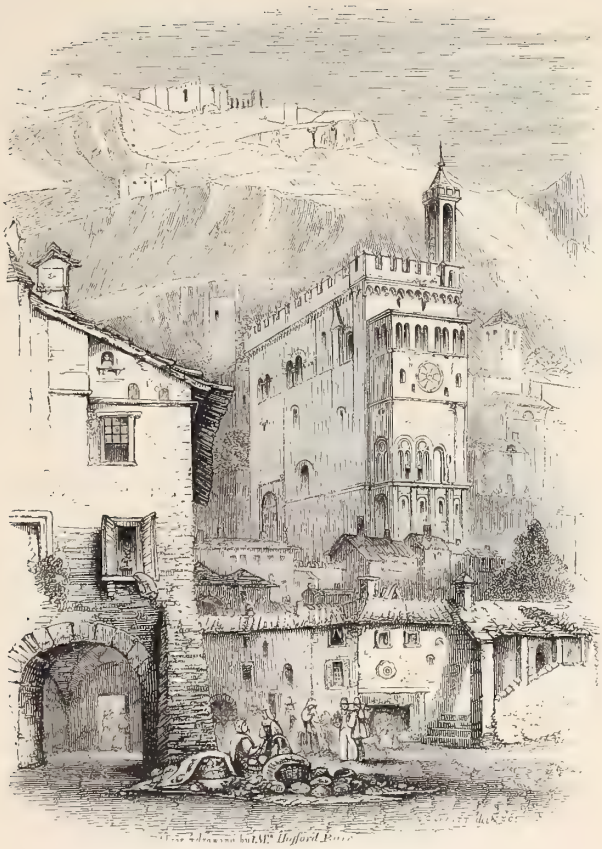
THE

Madonna and Saints,

PAINTED IN FRESCO BY

OTTAVIANO NELLI,

IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA NUOVA AT GUBBIO.



GUBBIO.

IT would be difficult to find amongst the cities of central Italy one more picturesque or interesting than Gubbio, the ancient capital of Umbria. Built on a steep declivity of the Apennines, it still retains most of the architectural features of the middle ages, so characteristic of the period of Italian freedom—machicolated walls and towers, narrow streets, and a stately "Palazzo Pubblico," or Town-hall. Like other free cities which rose to power in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was distinguished for the magnificence of its public buildings, and for the protection which it extended to the fine arts. Its own chroniclers claim for one of

its citizens the honour of having founded a school of painting which exercised no small influence throughout Italy, and ultimately attaining to great eminence, was known as the Umbrian School.

Dante, in the Purgatorio (xi. 100), addresses in terms of friendship one Oderisi, or Oderigi, whom he calls "the honour of Agobbio, and of the art of illuminating"—

> Oh, diss' io lui, non se' tu Oderisi,
> L'onor d' Agobbio, e l'onor di quell' arte,
> Ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi?

Notwithstanding the reputation which Oderigi thus appears to have enjoyed, but few authentic works of his hand have, as far as I am aware, been preserved.* Amongst his pupils was Guido or Guiduccio Palmerucci, who was born about the year 1280, four years later than Giotto. He seems to have abandoned missal painting, and to have been chiefly employed, as was the custom of the time, in decorating with frescoes the public buildings and churches of his native city, and of the neighbouring towns of Umbria. A head of St. Antony, the only remains of a sacred subject painted by him early in the 14th century under the arcade of the college of painters, still exists on the outside of the church of S. Maria at Gubbio. Two frescoes recently discovered in the church of S. Francesco, in the town of Cagli, are also attributed to him by Signor Bonfatti, the able and learned historian of Gubbio, who has published interesting materials for the illustration of the works of the Eugubian painters.†

* The miniatures of the "Ordo Officiorum Senensis Ecclesiæ" in the public library of Siena were executed by him in 1313, and the illuminations of some manuscripts in the Vatican are also, I believe, attributed to him.

† "Memorie Storiche di Ottaviano Nelli Pittore Eugubino, illustrate con documenti da Luigi Bonfatti." Gubbio, 1843.

A contract is still preserved, entered into between Palmerucci and the magistrates of Gubbio, by which the painter agrees to decorate with frescoes the interior of the Town-hall, then recently built by Matteo di Giovanello, called Gattapone, one of the most celebrated architects of his time, and a native of the city. Guido undertakes to complete the decoration of the great hall, in which an Annunciation of the Virgin had already been painted—it is not stated by whom—and to add thereto the arms of the captains and other officers of the "comune." *

Palmerucci's frescoes — for I know no authentic specimen of his easel pictures—are distinguished by certain qualities which may entitle him to be considered the founder of an independent school of painting. Still it is very doubtful whether his style was not formed under the influence of his great contemporary, Giotto, although Signor Bonfatti condemns Lanzi and Rosini for classing him amongst the "Giotteschi," or imitators of that painter. It is scarcely probable that the impulse, which the illustrious Florentine had given to painting by his works at Assisi, should not have been felt in the neighbouring city of Gubbio. Few parts of Italy, indeed, escaped his influence, and there were few schools which in the beginning did not profit by his example. However, Palmerucci is not to be classed amongst his mere imitators, and the few fragments of his works with which I am acquainted are undoubtedly characterised by an attempt to impart that tenderness, grace, and religious sentiment to his forms,

* This document is included in a valuable collection of materials for the history of painting published at Bologna, and entitled "Memorie originali Italiane riguardanti le Belle Arti."

which subsequently became the well-known features of the Umbrian school.

One of Palmerucci's scholars, Martino Nelli, painted frescoes after the manner of his master, but of no great merit, in many churches and public buildings of Gubbio. Some fragments of them still remain. He appears to have had two sons, who were brought up in his "bottega." The one who distinguished himself the most in his art was Ottaviano, called after his father "di Martino Nelli;" a designation subsequently corrupted into "Ottaviano de Martis." The first record of his name occurs in a document preserved in the public archives of Perugia, to which city he was called in the first year of the 15th century, to paint the arms of Giovan Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, in company with Cristoforo di Nicoluccio, and Francesco di Antonio. He was paid eighty-four florins for his share of the work, which was probably more considerable and important than its professed subject would lead us to expect, groups of figures and elaborate ornaments being frequently added to armorial bearings thus painted on public buildings.

He appears to have remained but a short time in Perugia, for in 1403 he painted, for the noble family of Pinoli, the votive fresco in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio, representing the Madonna and Saints, of which a copy is included in the publication of the Arundel Society for 1857. The picture was probably ordered in fulfilment of a vow to the Virgin during the illness of a member of the family, or at the time of some public calamity. It was customary to make such vows to the Virgin, or to a patron Saint, and many of the finest frescoes and altar-pictures in Italy were thus

executed for cities and public corporations, as well as for private individuals.

In Nelli's fresco we find two figures kneeling before the Virgin—one a man advanced in years, the other a youth. They are evidently portraits of the persons for whom it was painted, and Signor Bonfatti conjectures that they represent Venturuccio dei Pinoli and his son Pinolo. The Virgin, clothed in robes richly embroidered in gold, is seated in front of a curtain held by angels. The Infant Christ, standing on her knee, and in the act of blessing with his right hand, stretches out his left to the younger of the two worshippers, who is conducted by a guardian angel to the Saviour. The other kneeling figure is presented to the Madonna by St. Antony the Abbot, his patron Saint. On the opposite side is a second Saint, probably St. Paul, holding a book in one hand, and a palm branch, the sign of martyrdom, in the other. The Almighty, supported above the Virgin by a cluster of angels and cherubim, holds a crown over her head. Angels, playing on instruments of music, complete the group. The ground of the picture is covered with a rich diaper pattern, varied with figures of birds and animals. The erection of a modern altar has injured the lower part of the fresco, and has destroyed the feet of the principal figures.

This fresco, of considerable merit, considering the time at which it was executed, is peculiarly interesting as being probably the first to unite in an eminent degree the principal characteristics of the school to which its author belongs. It is chiefly on this account that the Council of the Arundel Society has selected it for publication. There is nothing more instructive to the art-student than to trace

the gradual development of certain qualities and peculiarities of style which have ultimately been brought to high perfection by the great masters. This progressive improvement furnishes of itself a chapter to the history of the human intellect. By carefully studying it in the works of painters who followed each other in one school, we trace, as it were, the working of the mind, and follow the very steps of the process. Thus we find in Nelli's fresco the germ of nearly all those beauties, and peculiar characteristics, which subsequently distinguished the masterpieces of Pietro Perugino, and still more of his pupil Raphael. There is the same feeling for rich and glowing colour, the same devotional sentiment, the same grace in the attitudes and forms of the human figure, the same tender and melancholy expression in the heads, the same warm, harmonious flesh tints, so different from those of the Florentine school. The technical skill, the power of rendering truthfully and completely all that the painter feels, is alone wanting to render the work almost perfect of its kind. In the head of the Virgin, especially, we trace the type of the Madonnas of Perugino and Raphael; and types such as these mark, perhaps more than anything else, the character of a school. Of this head, singularly beautiful and pathetic in its extreme simplicity, a tracing from the original has been added—the Council of the Arundel Society desiring to afford additional means of judging of the peculiar style of the artist by reproducing, as correctly as possible, outlines of the principal heads. The figure of the Infant Christ is the most defective part of the fresco. The expression of the head is befitting the subject, but the drawing of the nude, which is in parts slightly veiled by thin white drapery, is incorrect and cramped, showing the usual faults of works of the period. There

is much dignity and religious feeling in the heads of the two Saints. The angels playing on musical instruments are arch, dainty little figures, full of artless grace, reminding one of the angels of Fra Angelico or Gentile da Fabriano. The disposition of the group shows that the painter had not released himself from the conventional treatment of religious subjects prescribed in the 14th century.*

The general tone of colour in the fresco is singularly rich and harmonious, and has earned for it the name by which it is known to the people of Gubbio, of the "Madonna del Belvedere." It is one of the very few works of the beginning of the 15th century which is still, except where destroyed by a modern erection, in almost perfect preservation. It owes its present condition partly to having been long covered with glass, as an object of peculiar devotion to the inhabitants of the city, but principally to the material in which it is painted. There is a brilliancy, transparency, and solidity in the colours, and a compactness and a property of resisting decay in the "intonaco" or prepared plaster, which produce the effect of a painting in "smalto" or encaustic. Hence the material in which the fresco is painted, and the mode of its application, are well deserving of careful examination. The process employed appears to me to have differed in many respects from any other method of fresco painting with which I am acquainted.

The drawing from which the chromolithograph has been executed was made by Mrs. Higford Burr. It reproduces with feeling and

* An engraving, in outline, of Nelli's fresco, in which neither the spirit nor character of the original has been preserved, is included amongst the plates to Rosini's "Storia della Pittura."

truth the work of the painter, without diminishing its beauties, or exaggerating its defects or its peculiarities. Nothing is more easy than to make a coarse caricature of an early painting; nothing more difficult than to convey that love for the true and beautiful, and that struggle to embody them, which characterise the productions of the really great masters of the 14th and 15th centuries, and give them, in spite of incorrect drawing and conventional treatment, their peculiar charm. In England the works of the painters of this period are scarcely known, except through spurious easel pictures or indifferent copies. It is almost impossible to make those who never saw their frescoes appreciate their real beauties, or understand the effect they produced upon those for whom they were expressly painted. There can be no greater error than to suppose that their principal merit consists in the mere realistic treatment of details. It is the sacrifice of the ideal to this subordinate quality which has principally contributed to the failure of modern attempts to imitate the manner of the early masters, and to introduce what is commonly known as "Christian art."

Ottaviano Nelli painted chiefly in fresco, and executed many works in that material in the churches of his native place, and of the neighbouring cities of Umbria. In the church of S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio, are the remains of a "Crucifixion," which still displays, in its warm colouring, and in the tender expression and sentiment of the heads of the Magdalen and Angels, the peculiar manner of the master. On the walls of the choir of the church of S. Agostino, in the same city, he painted various subjects from the history of the titular saint, some of which, such as his ordination, consecration as bishop, and the death of S. Monnica, have considerable merit. A Holy Family,

in the church of S. Maria della Piaggiola, outside the walls of Gubbio, was probably one of his last works. It is still preserved, although much injured by bad restoration. Signor Bonfatti, who has collected, with laudable diligence, such records as exist of the various works executed by Nelli, has described a church in Gubbio, whose walls were covered with his frescoes and those of the principal painters of the school, who flourished from the commencement of the 14th to the 16th century. They were destroyed as late as the year 1841!

Of his works in other parts of Umbria, a Christ surrounded by Angels, painted about the year 1422, may still be seen at Assisi, on the outside of the chapel of the ancient Hospice of the "Pellegrini." A small chapel in the palace of the noble family of Trinci at Foligno was decorated by him in fresco in 1424, as appears by an inscription still partly preserved. Some of the subjects seem to have been executed by his pupils, others are undoubtedly by his own hand. They are somewhat weak in general treatment, but are distinguished by his peculiar clear, warm colouring. The entire building has been converted into Government offices, and the chapel itself having been long used as a lumber-room, the frescoes have been suffered to fall into partial decay. Like many other great painters of the time, he was drawn to Urbino by the munificence and splendour of a Court which extended the utmost protection and encouragement to the arts. But all the works which he executed in that city have either perished altogether, or have long been buried beneath plaster and whitewash.

The easel paintings of Ottaviano Nelli are extremely rare. I

am only acquainted with two;—one representing the Virgin delivering a child from the hands of an evil spirit, in the church of S. Agostino in Gubbio, almost entirely repainted; and a second, of the same subject, at Montefalco, near Foligno. They are both, as is usual with masters of the period, far inferior to his works in fresco. The latest record of the name of the painter is found in a document dated in the month of April, 1444. It is conjectured that he died soon after this period.

Amongst the painters of the Umbrian school who were influenced by the works of Ottaviano Nelli, if they may not be classed amongst his immediate scholars, the most remarkable were Gentile da Fabriano, and Giovanni Sanzio, the father of Raphael. The former painted much in Gubbio,* and he is believed to have assisted Nelli in decorating the choir of the church of S. Agostino, two of the subjects being pointed out, though probably on no good authority, as exclusively by him. There is certainly much in common in the manner of both masters, especially in the profusion of gold and ultramarine in their draperies; in their warm, rich colouring; in the arch and playful countenances of their angels; and in the modest devotional expression of their Virgins. The influence of the Eugubian painter upon Giovanni Sanzio has been more generally recognised by writers on Italian art. Rosini, indeed, does not hesitate to admit the probability of Nelli having been his master.† It is chiefly in the easel pictures of Sanzio that the influence may be traced. In his frescoes, especially in his masterpiece at Cagli, he had formed a style far in advance of the age, and more nearly

* Vasari, "Vita di Gentile da Fabriano."

† "Storia della Pittura." Part iii., p. 163.

approaching that afterwards brought to its highest perfection by his illustrious son.

Ottaviano Nelli left many scholars, who were chiefly employed in adorning the public edifices of their native city. Their names, and a record of their principal works, have been preserved by his biographer. But none of them rose to eminence, or are known beyond the limits of the district in which they laboured.* By the end of the 15th century the school of Gubbio, like those of the neighbouring cities, seems to have been absorbed into that which Pietro Vannucci had founded in Perugia, and which, uniting the highest qualities of all the Umbrian schools, produced the greatest painter of modern times, Raphael Sanzio.

A. H. LAYARD.

* The principal were Giacomo di Bedi, Giovanni Pitali, and Domenico di Cecco di Baldo. Ottaviano's brother's name was Tommasuccio. A "tavola" by him is in the church of S. Domenico at Gubbio.

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The Frescoes

BY

BERN: PINTURICCHIO,

IN THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE,
AT SPELLO.

SPELLO.

THE ancient town of Spello rises upon the ruins of the Roman Hispellum, on a precipitous slope of the Apennines overhanging the rich valley of Foligno, and but a little apart from one of the great highways between Northern Italy and Rome. It still preserves, amidst the square brick towers of the middle ages, its arched gateway of the Imperial times.* At the end of the fifteenth century it was, with its dependent lands, by pontifical grant, a lordship of the Baglioni of Perugia.

One of the members of that noble family, Trojolo dei Baglioni, was then Prior of the "Collegiata," or collegiate church of Sta. Maria

* The woodcut represents the entrance to the town from the Roman road.

Maggiore. Wishing, according to the custom of the time, to adorn a chapel to the glory of the Virgin, and to employ an artist of repute to decorate it with frescoes, he invited to Spello Bernardino Pinturicchio, as one of the most renowned painters of the day.

Bernardino was the son of one Benedetto di Biagio, and was born at Perugia in the year 1454. He was called after his father, Di Betto or Betti (the familiar contraction of Benedetto); from the lowness of his stature, Pinturicchio, or Picturicchio (the little painter); and sometimes, from his deafness, "Il Sordicchio." He had probably been brought up in the "bottega," or workshop of Benedetto Bonfigli, a painter of considerable merit, who had founded a school in Perugia, in which the celebrated Pietro Vannucci, or Perugino, had also learnt his art.

Rosini* conjectures that he may have also studied under Vittore Pisanello, when that painter was employed upon the series of pictures still preserved in the church of S. Francesco at Perugia; and there is certainly much in Pinturicchio's elaborate architectural backgrounds, in his arabesques, in the action of his figures, and in the arrangement of his draperies, which might be traced to the influence of that celebrated Veronese artist.†

Pietro Perugino was but eight years older than Pinturicchio,

* "Storia della Pittura," vol. iii. p. 182. The earliest work attributed to Pinturicchio is a figure of S. Anzano in fresco in the chapel of Sta. Caterina at Assisi, the interior of which was painted by Matteo da Gualdo, under whom he may also have studied. The influence of Matteo may perhaps be traced in some of his works.

† It must, however, be observed that considerable doubt exists as to whether these pictures are really by Pisanello.

and they may have been apprenticed together. A close friendship existed between them, and when Sixtus IV. summoned the great Umbrian painter to Rome to decorate the Vatican and other buildings in his capital, Pinturicchio accompanied him as his assistant. They lived there together, and in company with Luca Signorelli, Bramante, and other distinguished artists of the time.* His abilities were soon recognised, and we find him at an early age engaged alone upon important works. Before he was thirty he had painted for the Cardinal della Rovere a part of his palace, and the fine frescoes in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo.

He was subsequently invited to Orvieto to assist in completing the internal decoration of the cathedral,—that magnificent shrine of the arts of the fifteenth century. All the frescoes which he painted there have perished except eight figures of the evangelists and doctors of the church. From Orvieto he was called back to Rome by Alexander VI., and was engaged for four years, with occasional interruptions, in adorning with frescoes, still well preserved, the new halls in the Vatican, now known as the "Appartamento Borgia," and numerous chambers in the Castle of S. Angelo, in which no traces of his paintings now exist. Partly as a reward for these labours he received a grant of land in the Perugian territory of Chiugi, for which he was to pay a yearly quit-rent of thirty measures of corn, afterwards commuted by order of the Pope, as too onerous a charge, to two pounds of white wax. He was engaged at Rome to the end of the century upon

* Gio. Battista Caporali, in his commentaries on Vitruvius, mentions a supper in the house of Bramante at which the three painters were present, but the date is uncertain.—Vermiglioli, Vita di Pinturicchio, p. 5.

many other works, and especially upon the frescoes in the Bufalini Chapel in the church of Sta. Maria in Aracœli, which may be classed amongst his best productions.*

Having completed these undertakings, and being in the full maturity of his powers—for he was now in his forty-sixth year—Pinturicchio commenced the work confided to him by the Prior at Spello. The subjects selected to occupy the three sides of the chapel—the fourth being entirely open to the church—were the Annunciation, the Nativity, and Christ disputing with the Doctors. In the four compartments of the groined vault, and in the midst of graceful arabesques, he painted the four Sibyls foretelling the coming of the Saviour; thus connecting the ceiling with the walls, and uniting the whole in one story. These frescoes were commenced in the year 1500, and according to the date affixed by the painter to one of them, appear to have been completed in the following year, when his patron, the Prior, had been promoted to the dignity of Bishop of his native city of Perugia.

The frescoes of the Spello Chapel have been more fortunate than most works of the period in escaping restoration, but they have not been treated with less neglect and indifference. The rain having been long allowed to penetrate through the roof, and to trickle down the walls, the plaster loosened by the damp is peeling off, and the colours have lost their original brilliancy. The frescoes on the roof are fast disappearing altogether. As the chapel is

* The frescoes in the tribune of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, attributed to him, have either been so entirely repainted as to leave but few traces of his brush, or are the works of an indifferent imitator or scholar.

unlighted by windows, and almost blocked up by a modern altar, the paintings can only be well seen during two or three hours in the middle of a bright day. I have had opportunities of watching, during repeated visits, their rapid decay, and of noting the changes which are from year to year taking place in them.

A traveller rarely wanders from the main road to thread on foot the narrow and precipitous streets, inaccessible to a carriage, which lead to the Collegiata; and as the frescoes, although perhaps the best works of the painter, have not even been mentioned by Vasari, and have consequently not been described in books on art, they are known but to a few. This was precisely a case in which the Arundel Society could render good service to the arts, by having accurate copies made of these paintings before they had entirely perished.* Signor Mariannecci, who had copied the "Martyrdom of S. Sebastian" by Pietro Perugino, already published by the Society, was commissioned to make them. But nearly three years elapsed before the difficulties thrown in his way by the canons of the church could be overcome, and drawings of the three frescoes secured. This was only accomplished after reiterated orders from Rome, and through the kind intervention of Cardinal Antonelli. The priests, perceiving that foreigners took an interest in these works of art, were suddenly struck with the idea that they must be of some value, and were seized with the fear that to allow copies to be taken of them would be to detract from their pecuniary worth, by deterring travellers from visiting, and paying for the privilege of seeing, the originals.

* Some very bad engravings in outline, from drawings by one Mariani, have been published of them, but they are scarcely deserving of mention.

The first of the three subjects, the Annunciation, is to the left on entering the chapel. The Virgin, a most graceful figure with an exquisite expression of modest purity, stands before a high reading desk, and rests one hand upon an open book. The kneeling angel, holding in one hand a lily, and raising the other in the act of delivering his holy message, his golden hair floating in rich profusion upon his shoulders, and his limbs enveloped in flowing robes, is one of the noblest figures of this class that Pinturicchio ever painted. The Almighty, supported by cherubim, sends the mystic dove towards the Virgin. In the background is an arcade, the columns of which are ornamented with arabesques. Through the arches is seen a second colonnade, and a distant landscape with a walled city on a hill, probably intended for Spello. To the right, beneath a window, is represented, as suspended to the wall, the portrait of the painter with the inscription—BERNARDINVS PICTORICIVS PERVSINVS. On a column is inscribed the date of the execution of the work, 1501. The composition is very simple, the subject being treated somewhat in the conventional manner of the Umbrian school. But the story is clearly and naturally told, and the action, both of the Virgin and Angel, is full of truth and grace. The elaborate architectural background and the landscape are very characteristic of the master. The colour throughout is rich and harmonious.*

The second subject, on the wall facing the entrance, is the Nativity. The divine Infant is stretching out its hands to its mother, who is in an attitude of adoration before her son. Two angels kneel at its head, one raising the white cloth, embroidered with a

* A chromolith of this fresco will be included in a future publication of the Arundel Society.

cross, upon which it is lying. S. Joseph stands near the Virgin, and gazes in wonder upon the child. An ox and an ass are seen behind him. The stable is a ruined building of debased classic architecture, with pilasters adorned with arabesques. Three shepherds kneel before the Infant, and a fourth brings a ram as an offering. In the middle distance are the three Kings coming with their gifts, and attended by men on horse and foot, one bearing a shield with the Baglioni arms. On a hill behind this group the Angel is represented appearing to the Shepherds. In the distance is seen the city of Bethlehem, over which hangs the guiding star, and beyond is a sea or lake with a ship. In the sky is a group of angels singing from a roll of music.*

The composition of this subject is less conventional than that of the previous one. Like most works of the school and period, it wants unity of action. The principal group—that surrounding the Infant—is too scattered and formal. There is an attempt to give individuality of character, and natural expression and action, to the shepherds, which marks the position of Pinturicchio in the Umbrian school with reference to Pietro Perugino, and shows an advance upon his conventional style. The angels in the sky, however, are quite Peruginesque, and have all Pietro's grace.

The third fresco represents Christ disputing with the Doctors.† The child is surrounded by a crowd of listeners, some in Eastern costume, others in the dress of the fifteenth century. He places the joined fingers of the right hand upon the centre finger of the left

* This subject is included in the publications of the Arundel Society for the year 1858.
† Included in the publications of the Society for the year 1857.

—an action still commonly used by the Italians in argument, and frequently depicted by other painters when representing the same subject. The figure of the youthful Christ is simple and dignified. He is clothed in a tunic, and in ample drapery which falls to the ground. His hair clusters in ringlets about his neck. S. Joseph points to the child, and appears to wish to advance towards him, but is restrained by the Virgin, who, marvelling at the flow of divine wisdom, with a timid downcast look, places her hand upon her husband's girdle. On the pavement in the midst of the assembly are scattered in disorder the books of the old law, as if to mark the triumph of the new.

In the group of figures to the spectator's left, the painter has introduced his patron, the Prior Trojolo. He is dressed in the long black robe and cap of his office, as prothonotary of the Apostolic See. By his side is a second figure, also in priest's garb, probably his treasurer, for in one hand he carries a purse, evidently to denote that the paintings were executed at his master's expense. On the opposite side an old man, wearing a peculiar conical head-dress, holds a scroll inscribed with the painter's name, written PINTORICHIO.

In the background is one of those domed polygonal buildings of so-called classic architecture which Bramante had brought into fashion about this period, and which were chosen by some of the principal painters of the day, his contemporaries and friends, as the most fit representation of the temple of Jerusalem—as by Pietro Perugino in his fresco in the Sistine chapel of "Christ's Charge to Peter," and by Raphael in his "Marriage of the Virgin" in the Brera.

Pinturicchio has also introduced a similar building in other of his works, as in the "Death of S. Bernardino" in the church of the Aracœli at Rome. On either side of this edifice, which occupies the centre of the background, is a landscape with trees, treated in the usual stiff conventional manner of the master.

The composition of this subject is more elaborate and ambitious than that of the other two, and very characteristic of the place which Pinturicchio holds in the Umbrian school, as the link between Pietro Perugino and Raphael. He can scarcely be called the pupil of the former, having been rather his fellow-labourer and assistant. But there can be no doubt that his style was influenced by Pietro's works, especially in his altar-pieces and easel-pictures, in which he frequently introduces angels and other figures almost copied from that master. On the other hand, the youthful Raphael appears to have assisted him in some of his later works, and if Vasari's statement is to be credited, to have been even employed by him in making designs for some of his principal compositions.* Pinturicchio stands as a painter between the two. He marks the transition between the Umbrian school, and the Roman founded by

* The editors of Lemonnier's edition of Vasari's Lives have shown that considerable doubt exists as to the extent of the assistance received by Pinturicchio from Raphael in the frescoes of the Piccolomini Library at Siena. In the contract for those works, still preserved, it is specially stipulated that both the cartoons, or original designs, and the heads in the frescoes themselves, should be by Pinturicchio's own hand. "*Item*, sia tenuto fare tutti li disegni delle istorie di sua mano in cartoni e in muro, fare le teste de sua mano tutte in fresco et in secho ritocchare e finire infino a la perfectione sua." Sketches are preserved, one in the Gallery at Florence, the other in the Baldeschi collection at Perugia, of two of the subjects of these frescoes, and are attributed to Raphael —upon what evidence, except the authority of Vasari, I am ignorant. The proof afforded by their style is not, to my mind, conclusive. It is scarcely probable that Pinturicchio, a painter of great reputation and experience, should have employed Raphael, then but a mere youth, to make sketches for so important a work.

Raphael,* showing the first decay of that spiritualism which especially distinguishes the former. A less brilliant and subtle colorist than Pietro, less tender, and less deeply religious in sentiment, he displays greater dramatic vigour and dramatic unity in his works. He attempts to portray with truth, and with a more exact imitation of nature, the various emotions and feelings of the actors in the events he depicts, and endeavours to depart from a mere conventional treatment. He may consequently be considered as the first of the historical painters of the Umbrian school, being in this respect considerably in advance of Lo Spagna, l'Ingegno, and other pupils of Perugino. Thus, in the "Christ Disputing with the Doctors" at Spello, there is an endeavour to show in the countenances and action of those who surround the Saviour, the particular effect of his words upon each of them, and to give a natural variety to each expression. But in this attempt he is still far behind the great historical painters of the Tuscan school who had immediately preceded him, or were his contemporaries—Masolino, Masaccio, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Ghirlandajo. They were superior to him in the representation of true dignity and in elevated conception of character. Pinturicchio, in comparison with them, is frequently weak and even common-place, as well as inferior in variety of action; showing the influence of that conventional spirit of the Umbrian school, from which Raphael alone entirely freed himself.

In technical treatment, Pinturicchio holds the same relative place.

* As a proof of this transition of style, it may be mentioned that a picture in the Gallery of the Vatican, which was once attributed to Pinturicchio, is now attributed to Pietro, Pinturicchio, and Raphael together, and that the fresco of the Last Supper, recently discovered at Florence, is sometimes assigned to Raphael, and sometimes to Pinturicchio. It is certainly not by the former.

His draperies are usually broader and less mannered and affected than those of Pietro, and are frequently disposed with grace and truth. His coloring has much of the brilliancy, yet softness and harmony, of the Umbrian school, but is inferior to that of Pietro's best works. It is, however, sometimes exceedingly rich and powerful, as in the case of his own portrait in the fresco of the Annunciation, which is almost Venetian in depth of tone. His drawing is generally careful and accurate. His outline is sometimes dry, but is often marked by great sweetness and tenderness; as in the figure of the Virgin in each of the Spello frescoes, and in the fresco over the altar of the Della Rovere chapel in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo at Rome; and in the head of the Angel, of which an engraving in outline will be published by the Arundel Society. Like Pietro, he avoids the nude, and an undraped figure is of rare occurrence in his works. In his composition he occasionally betrays an evident imitation of the Florentine school, as in the fresco of the death of S. Bernardino in the church of the Aracœli at Rome. Many of his heads are marked by great strength and originality of character, as that of the shepherd in the "Nativity," of which a traced outline is also published by the Society.

In the representation of suggestive scenery, he was inferior to Pietro Perugino, showing less true feeling for the beauties of nature, and less refined sentiment. There is a delightful calm and repose in Pietro's landscapes, which is rarely, if ever, seen in those of Pinturicchio. It was in rich architectural backgrounds that he excelled, and he rarely omits to introduce into his pictures some highly ornamented building or monument, although altogether inconsistent with the

subject. He was the first in Italy, says Vasari, to imitate the Flemish manner, in a series of landscapes and views of cities which he painted for Innocent VIII. in his palace of the Belvidere. Indeed in minuteness of detail, and in hard conventional treatment, he resembles to a certain extent the painters of the Flemish school. In the variety and richness of his arabesques he has scarcely been excelled, and even Raphael seems to have derived much from him in this branch of his art. Amongst the best specimens of his taste and skill in this style are the Piccolomini Library of Siena, the vault of the choir in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo at Rome, and the ceiling of the chapel at Spello.

Pinturicchio was essentially a painter in fresco, and a decorator of architecture. Authentic easel-pictures by him are rare, although many worthless specimens of the Umbrian school pass under his name. His best are probably a large altar-piece now in the public gallery at Perugia, an Assumption at Naples, and a Holy Family and Saints in the Church of S. Francesco at Spello.

He painted in "buonfresco," or true fresco, and thoroughly understood the capabilities of the material. His works were, however, usually finished in tempera, according to the custom of many painters of the time. In the contract for the decoration of the library at Siena, he binds himself, indeed, to complete the heads "*in secho*." * He was fond of introducing gold ornaments in high relief, bosses, and gilding into his pictures, a custom which Vasari condemns as "goffissimo." Although this practice is opposed to true art, it has frequently a rich and pleasing effect in architectural

* See *ante*. Note, p. 11.

decoration. The frescoes of Spello are, however, freer than most of his works from such ornamentation.

As a decorator of interior architecture Pinturicchio has scarcely had an equal. The celebrated library attached to the cathedral at Siena, and adorned with ten subjects from the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pope Pius II., and with a profusion of arabesques and architectural ornaments of the greatest variety and elegance, will probably ever remain the most perfect example of this style of decoration.

The great facility attained by Pinturicchio in fresco led him frequently, as has been the case with other artists, to paint carelessly and mechanically, some of his works almost justifying the contemptuous manner in which Vasari speaks of him.* Many of these were probably executed in great part by pupils or assistants. Of his scholars, none distinguished themselves. He founded no school, and exercised no real influence on art.

Like his fellow citizen Pietro Perugino, Pinturicchio was enrolled in 1501 among the decemvirs, or supreme magistrates of his native city. After the completion of his great work in the Piccolomini Library, he was released by the Balia, or magistracy of Siena, from the payment of all taxes and imposts, except those levied at the city gates. These marks of honourable distinction, his friendship with Raphael, and the esteem in which he was held by some of the most illustrious men of his time, ill agree with the character given of him by Vasari—always unfavourable to the Umbrian school, and especially hostile to Pinturicchio—that he was

* This is seen in some of the frescoes in the "Appartamento Borgia," in the Vatican.

one of the most fantastic, strange, and malicious men of whom there is record in the history of painting. Nor does there appear to be any truth in that biographer's account of the painter's death. According to him Pinturicchio, whilst employed upon an altar-piece for the friars of S. Francesco at Siena, perversely insisted upon the removal of an old chest from a room in their convent in which he worked. A part of it giving way, five hundred golden ducats rolled out on the floor. He was so envious of the good fortune of the poor monks at the discovery, through his means, of this treasure, that he took to his bed and died of grief and mortification. A more authentic and probable narrative of his death has, however, been preserved. He appears to have made, like Andrea del Sarto, an unfortunate marriage. Whilst he was suffering under a severe illness, his wife quitted the house with a lover, closed the door, and left the unhappy painter to die of neglect and starvation. He expired on the 11th of December, 1513, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at Siena, in the church of SS. Vincenzio and Anastasio, now the oratory of the Contrada dell' Istrice.* No monument marked his grave until a lover of the fine arts, the Abate de Angelis, placed, a few years ago, an inscribed slab over his remains.

A. H. LAYARD.

* These particulars are found in an unpublished history of Siena by one Sigismondo Tisi, who was the priest of the parish in which Pinturicchio died, and who received the account of his death from some old women of the quarter who were present. Vermiglioli, Vita di Pinturicchio, p. 189.

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GIOVANNI SANZIO

AND HIS

Fresco at Cagli.

URBINO.

AMONGST the illustrious families who flourished in Italy during the fifteenth century, none were more celebrated for the protection and encouragement they extended to learning and the fine arts, than the hereditary rulers of the Duchy of Urbino. Several princes of renown in politics and arms had contributed to establish the freedom and to extend the prosperity of this little district, situated in the very bosom of the Apennines. In the middle of the century it was governed by the Count Federigo da Montefeltro, a prince of prudence, wisdom, and courage, who threw himself with energy into the struggle of Italian politics, taking service as a "condottiere," or leader of mercenary troops, with one or other of the great parties then striving for supremacy in the Peninsula. But his name is not stained by any

of those deeds of treachery and violence which have rendered infamous that of almost every prince of the period. To a character remarkable for its faithfulness and humanity, he added an ardent love of literature, science, and the arts. He gathered around him in his little court many of the most distinguished men of his time, who spread throughout the Peninsula the fame of his capital, which they fondly called "the Italian Athens." When the Duke, as Federigo was afterwards created by Pope Sixtus IV., laid the foundations of a palace, which was to excel even the many magnificent edifices of the period in the vastness of its proportions and in the richness and beauty of its decorations, artists flocked from all parts of Italy to aid in its completion. The building was confided to Luciano Lauranna, or da Laurana, one of the most renowned architects of the age; the ornaments in carved and inlaid marble and wood to Ambrogio Baroccio of Milan, Maestro Giacomo of Florence, Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena, and others not less celebrated; Melozzo da Forli and other eminent painters enriched the halls and library with frescoes and painted panels. Antique statues in marble and bronze were added to the works of living men, and rendered complete the choice collections of art which adorned the interior.

The palace hangs over a deep ravine, resting, like many edifices of the period, upon a bold and picturesque substruction of arches—a grand and imposing building, somewhat too massive and sombre, but highly characteristic of the dwellings of the warrior princes of the Middle Ages.* Much of the interior decoration—the sculptured chimney-pieces, the subtle carved work in marble and alabaster, and the elaborate "tarsia," or inlaid wood—still remains, and here and

* See woodcut at the head of this notice.

there painted ornaments may be traced on the walls; but much has been disfigured or destroyed, even of late, by a Papal Legate, who has fitted up this, his official, residence, in the improved French taste, with tawdry paper-hangings and modern stoves. The collection of antique sculpture, the pictures, and the library of books and manuscripts, have long been scattered or removed.*

Although strangers had been called from various parts of Italy to adorn the new building, Urbino, like most other Italian cities, could boast of her own painters. The most celebrated was Giovanni Santi, or Sanzio, whose fame, such as it is, rests somewhat unjustly, not so much upon the intrinsic merits of his works, as upon the honour which the fatherhood of the greatest of painters has conferred upon him. He was the son of one Sante, whose father, Peruzzolo, could trace his descent from an ancestor, also named Sante, living in the beginning of the fourteenth century.† The family possessed a little land, which they cultivated for their own wants, and inhabited the castle of Colbordolo, whose deserted ruins still crown a hill top overlooking a smiling valley watered by the Isauro and the Apsa between Urbino and the Adriatic. Their dwelling was sacked, and their property destroyed, during a foray made upon the Urbinese territory, in 1446, by Sigismondo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini. For better security, Peruzzolo moved with his family into the city, where he occupied a house which is still standing. His son Sante was already married and had

* These collections are now for the most part in the Vatican.

† From this ancestor Giovanni, according to Italian custom, took the name of "de' Santi," latinised into "Sanctius," and hence Italianised into "Sanzio." He signs himself on his pictures, "Io. de Santis," "Iohannes Santis de Urbino," and "Ioanne Sancto."

four children, the eldest of whom was Giovanni. Sante became a broker and corn-dealer, and so improved his fortunes that he was soon able to purchase two houses in Urbino and some land in the neighbourhood.

The date of Giovanni's birth is not known. He was probably a child when his father left Colbordolo, but yet old enough to feel deeply the ruin that had fallen on his home, to which in after days he touchingly alluded. He appears to have shown an early taste for the arts, and to have chosen painting as a profession. Under what master he first studied there is no record, but there must have been some school in the city in which he could learn at least the elements of the art.

Urbino could scarcely have escaped the impulse which Giotto and his followers had given to the revival of painting throughout Italy. It is even probable that the great Florentine himself had left there traces of his genius. In the neighbouring city of Gubbio, Oderigi and his scholar, Guido Palmerucci, had founded a school, which produced some fresco-painters of eminence.* One of them, Ottaviano Nelli, is known to have executed important works at Urbino in the first half of the fifteenth century. Of earlier artists who were employed in the city and the neighbourhood, the names of two only have been preserved; Giuliano, from Rimini, who painted at Urbania, in 1307, a large wooden crucifix, such as were carried in processions —a rude work in the style of Margheritone of Arezzo; and another Giuliano, who painted in Urbino some sixty years later.†

* See my memoir of Ottaviano Nelli. Publications of the Arundel Society for 1857.

† Passavant, Raphael von Urbino, vol. i. p. 425.

The earliest paintings of any importance now existing in Urbino, are the frescoes of the oratory of St. John the Baptist, executed in 1416, by the brothers Lorenzo and Jacopo from San Severino. The Crucifixion, a large composition crowded with figures, occupies the end of the chapel. The side walls are covered with subjects taken chiefly from the history of the Baptist. These frescoes are interesting both on account of their actual merit, and for the place they hold in the Umbrian school of painting. They bear evident traces of the influence of the "Giotteschi," or followers of Giotto, but the colouring is warmer, the drawing less mannered, and the sentiment more devotional than in their works. In composition, too, they show originality of treatment, and considerable dramatic power. Many of the heads, especially in the Crucifixion, are very dignified, and have at the same time a natural and portrait-like character. The drawing of the nude is as faulty, as might be expected in a work of the period.*

It was probably upon these frescoes that Giovanni Santi first studied. His earliest style may also have been affected by the works which the graceful pencil of Gentile da Fabriano had left in the Hermitage of Val di Sasso, and the altar-piece which Fra Angelico had stopped to paint at Forano. But a still more direct influence may, perhaps, be traced to Ottaviano Nelli, of whom Rosini, in his "History of Italian Painting," assumes that he may actually have been the pupil.† A comparison of dates will, however, show that Ottaviano was, in all probability, dead

* Of the two brothers, Lorenzo the eldest appears to have been the most skilful artist. An altar-piece by him in the National Gallery is a good example of his style.

† See my memoir of Ottaviano Nelli, p. 12.

before Giovanni came, as a boy, to Urbino.* He was still young when, in 1469, Pietro della Francesca became his guest. This eminent painter, one of the most learned and original of his time, had been called to Urbino by the munificence of Federigo, whose portrait, with that of Battista Sforza, his wife, he was invited to paint.† Giovanni profited by his teaching, especially in perspective, of which Pietro had been one of the first to determine and explain the true principles.‡ Other painters of scarcely less merit had been drawn from various parts of Italy to the enlightened court of the Count of Montefeltro. Amongst them the most distinguished were Bartolomeo Coradini, more generally called, from his profession of a Dominican monk, Fra Carnevale, whose works have, for the most part, perished, but who, judging from such as remain, was a painter of singular ability; § Melozzo, from Forli, scarcely better known than Fra Carnevale, but the few fragments of whose frescoes are to be classed amongst the most remarkable productions of the age in which he lived; ‖ and the Florentine, Paolo Ucello, who

* Peruzzolo, Giovanni's grandfather, sold his house at Colbordolo in 1454. He may have previously settled his family in Urbino, as the foray of Sigismondo Malatesta, in which he suffered, probably took place eight years before. No notice of Ottaviano Nelli exists after 1444, and his careful biographer, Sig. Bonfatti, conjectures that he died about this time. He painted at Urbino between 1428 and 1433. No traces of his works are now to be found there. (Pungileoni, Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi.)

† These portraits are now in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence. A memorandum of the payment of ten "Bolognini" to Santi for the entertainment of Pietro della Francesca is still preserved.

‡ Santi, in his poem, terms perspective a new art, "invention del nostro secul nova."

§ His altar-piece in the Brera may be particularly mentioned.

‖ Of *authentic* works by this very original and remarkable painter, I am only acquainted with the following:—A fresco painted in 1475, representing Sixtus IV. appointing Platina Librarian of the Vatican, with portraits besides of the Cardinal Pietro Riario, Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II.), and of their brothers Girolamo Riario and Giovanni della Rovere, a work of great vigour and character, formerly in the "Floreria" of the Vatican, but now transferred to canvas and in the Picture Gallery; the fragments of a fresco painted in the tribune of the church of the Santi Apostoli at

had advanced his art a step by novel effects of foreshortening. Lastly, Luca Signorelli, whose daring attempts in the same direction, and whose rich imagination, were preparing the way for Michelangelo, was painting in Urbino in 1484. Giovanni was well acquainted with the works of these masters, and had carefully studied them.

Even the school of painting which had arisen in Flanders, and used oil as a vehicle, thus introducing a new era in the art, was not unrepresented at Urbino. Count Federigo, not satisfied with obtaining a picture by the greatest of its masters, John van Eyck, had invited to his Court one of that painter's scholars, Justus of Ghent. An altar-piece by this artist, dated in 1474, still exists in the church of S. Agata. It is of very inferior merit when compared with the masterpieces of his great contemporaries, and is chiefly interesting as being probably one of the first pictures painted in Italy on the new method, and as containing portraits of Federigo and of Caterino Zeno, a Venetian sent as ambassador from the Persian King, Ussun Khan.*

Rome, in 1472, and destroyed in 1711,—one part consisting of Christ ascending to heaven surrounded by angels, is now on the great staircase of the Quirinal, and fourteen heads of apostles and angels are in the Sacristy of St. Peter's, the latter singularly beautiful, and executed with a freedom and breadth of style much in advance of his time; and a fresco in a very dilapidated state, lately removed from above the shop-door of an apothecary at Forli, and known as the "Pestapepe." To these may be added some heads remarkable for their vigorous character and truth, which probably once adorned the library of Federigo's palace at Urbino. Copies of some of them were made by Raphael in his sketch-book, now preserved at Venice. They were formerly in the Campana collection at Rome. The works of his pupil, Marco Palmezzano, a painter far inferior in merit, have frequently been attributed to him, owing to the signature "Marcus de Melotius," *i. e.*, Marcus the pupil of Melozzo, sometimes appended to them; as by the editors of the Le Monnier edition of Vasari's Lives.—Commentario alla vita di Benozzo Gozzoli, vol. 4.

* Passavant, however, thinks very highly of this work by Justus of Ghent, especially

But Giovanni's style seems to have undergone the greatest change after he became acquainted with the works of Andrea Mantegna. He appears to have accompanied Federigo to Mantua in 1482, and to have there acquired the friendship of that most original and thoughtful of painters.

Giovanni, like many of the great artists of his day, united with the practice of his art an ardent love for polite literature. This taste was fostered by his intercourse with the eminent men of letters who frequented the Court of Urbino. He sought to repay the benefits he had received from his generous patron by recording in verse, and dedicating to his son and successor Guidubaldo I., the principal events of Federigo's life. The ease with which Giovanni's beautiful native tongue lends itself to rhythm and rhyme, enabled him to compose, in what he terms "the little-used metre of terza-rima," a poem of no less than 23 cantos and 24,000 lines.* The verse is commonplace; and this rhymed chronicle, like most other compositions of the period, is rendered tedious by details of unimportant events related with precise minuteness. Still it contains passages which show that the author was not without true poetic feeling, and that he possessed a highly cultivated mind, well stored with the learning of his day. The sentiments are always praiseworthy, sometimes lofty and noble; and he displays an ardent love of his country, and a deep sense of the calamities hanging over her

extolling the composition and the vigorous treatment of the heads (Rafael von Urbino, vol. i. p. 430). It appeared to me quite undeserving of the praise he bestows upon it.

* The MS. of this poem is preserved in the Vatican. Extracts of it are given by Passavant in his Life of Raphael, and by Dennistoun in his "Dukes of Urbino." It is entitled "Principio del' Opera composta da Giohanni de Sante pictore: nela quale se contiene la vita e gesti de lo Ill° et invictissimo principe Federico feretrano, duca de Urbino."

from the internal dissensions which were then tearing her asunder. Although his poem is valuable for its illustrations of contemporary history, it is chiefly noticeable here on account of the record it contains of the principal artists living at the period in different parts of Italy; proving that the author was well acquainted with their works, and had studied the principal characteristics of their styles, which he generally describes by an appropriate epithet. There are no names of eminence which he does not mention, except those of the two masters of the Bolognese school, Francia and Lorenzo Costa (an omission not to be accounted for), and Pinturicchio, with whose works nevertheless he must have been familiar. He calls John van Eyck "the great," and alludes to his pupil Roger Vander Weyden; but in no way notices Justus of Ghent, who, as we have seen, was actually painting at Urbino. Giovanni appears, therefore, to have appreciated at their just value the works of this artist.* The painter who receives the amplest tribute of his praise is Andrea Mantegna. Him he calls "the most excellent and worthy in the art of painting of all those who flourished in that illustrious age;" and describes as uniting those various great qualities and beauties which others only possessed singly, and which Giovanni enumerates as, in his opinion, required to form the truly great painter; namely, grandeur of design, which he declares to be "the true foundation of painting," invention, industry, colour (especially in the art of graduating tints, so as to produce the effects of foreshortening), and the knowledge of the laws of perspective, requiring an acquaintance with arithmetic, geometry, and architecture. He places first amongst those pursuits which confer glory upon man,

* Passavant (vol. i. p. 431) seems, however, to be of opinion that Justus did exercise some influence over Giovanni, and upon Italian art in general.

Poetry and History, and then Sculpture and Painting, and offers some just and well-considered remarks upon the end and functions of the latter art.

In his "bottega," or shop, in which he also carried on the trade of a gilder,* Giovanni appears to have begun by painting devotional pictures for country churches, and for pious customers who had made vows to the Virgin or a patron saint. Occasionally, he was employed in painting frescoes of Holy Families, or some other sacred subject, in the little chapels, and roadside oratories, which nestle in the blue hills and wooded valleys around Urbino. Some of these early works may still be found by the curious traveller, but they have for the most part perished, yielding to the hand of Time, or brought to ruin during the many wars which have swept over this part of Italy. His fame gradually extended beyond his native province, and he was invited to paint altar-pieces in the cities of the Marches—at Fano, Pesaro, Gradara, and Sinigaglia. Several of these pictures are still preserved. His reputation was at the highest, and his talents most matured, for he must have reached his fiftieth year, when he was engaged, in 1490 or 1491,† by Pietro Tiranni, of patrician descent, to decorate a family chapel in the Church of S. Domenico at Cagli, a town of some size near Urbino. He went thither accompanied by his wife and by his son, Raphael, then a boy of nine years old.

* He pursued this calling to the latest period of his life. A year before his death he was paid a small sum for gilding certain candelabra and angels (Pungileoni, p. 44). In 1489 we find him employed with other artists in devising triumphal arches, and other fancy decorations, to grace the marriage of Guidubaldo I. and Elizabetta Gonzaga.

† Or a year later, if Pungileoni's statement be true that he was accompanied by Raphael's stepmother (p. 37). Magia Ciarla died in 1491, and Giovanni's second marriage took place in the following year.

The principal fresco which he painted there, is the most important, and probably the best preserved, of all his works. It occupies the end of an arched recess behind an altar. On the vaulted roof above, on an azure ground sown with golden stars, is the Almighty, surrounded by boy angels of exquisite grace, who are worshipping and playing on instruments of music. In front of the arch is the Annunciation—a half-figure of the Virgin occupying a medallion on one side, the Angel a similar medallion on the other. The principal fresco is divided horizontally into two distinct parts. In the lower division are eight figures of life size. The Virgin, seated on a richly decorated throne, tenderly supports the Infant Christ, who, standing on her knee, grasps with one hand the scarf thrown across her shoulders. On each side of her is a boy angel; one stands with his arms folded on his breast, the other, with his hands united, bends in adoration. To her right are St. Peter holding the keys and St. Francis of Assisi, represented, as he sometimes is by the Umbrian painters, without a beard, and without the emaciated form which generally characterises him. To her left are St. John the Baptist pointing to the Saviour and St. Dominic reading in an open book.* In front of the Virgin, upon the pavement, are a candle and two small bottles, such as are used to hold oil or the consecrated elements at the mass. The entire group is enclosed in an architectural recess, the top of which, not unskilfully drawn in perspective, is made to coincide with the spring of the arch, and to divide the fresco into two distinct compartments. In the upper, in a semicircle or lunette, Santi has painted the Resurrection of our Lord. The figures are smaller than those in the lower division. The Saviour, with the white grave-clothes partly thrown from his shoulders, and surrounded by a

* According to Pungileoni, St. Thomas Aquinas, but this is an error.

glory of gilded rays, issues from the tomb—a chamber excavated in the rock, and entered by a square doorway, like the ancient places of sepulture still seen in Palestine. He holds in one hand the red crossed banner of salvation, and raises the other in the act of blessing. Around him are scattered six sleeping guards, dressed in the costume and armour of the soldiers of the Montefeltri. They are represented in various attitudes; the legs of two are hanging over the rock above the architectural division of the fresco. The background is formed by a landscape with wooded hills, and the towers of a distant town.

This fresco is not only the most important work that Giovanni Santi ever executed, but it displays more than any other his peculiar style, and enables us to trace the process by which that style was formed. It is also peculiarly interesting as showing the influence which he exercised over his son Raphael. It may be gathered, from what I have said of Santi, that he was a laborious and loving follower of his art, indebted for any success he attained in it rather to painstaking and conscientious study, and to a correct taste, than to the fire of genius, and that lofty imagination, which mark the truly great and original painter. His works fully bear out this view of his character as an artist. The tendency of his mind was essentially "eclectic"—to use a term subsequently applied to the masters of a celebrated school. His earliest productions, and especially his Holy Families, appear to have been imitated, except as regards colour (and the exception is a curious one, and difficult to be accounted for), from the Umbrian type, such as he had studied it when a boy in the frescoes of the San Severini, Ottaviano Nelli, and Gentile de Fabriano, and later in the pictures of his contemporaries, Benedetto

Bonfigli, and Pietro Perugino. He gradually changed and improved his style as he enlarged his acquaintance with the works of the great masters of other schools which flourished in his day in Italy, and perhaps also by the continued study of the specimens of antique sculpture collected together in the Ducal Palace at Urbino. This progress was constantly going on, and the successive modifications in his style may be very clearly seen in his pictures. In a fresco of the Virgin and Child, originally painted on the wall of his house in Urbino,* and long believed to be a youthful work by his son, with the graceful composition of the Umbrian school he has combined, in the head of the Madonna, the peculiar manner of Pietro della Francesca, or Fra Carnevale. The architecture in an "Annunciation," now in the Brera Gallery, shows that he put into practice the rules of perspective which he had learnt from the former master. Whilst one female figure in an altar-piece at Fano, representing the Visitation, reminds one of Pietro Perugino in expression and in grace, others, in the free treatment of drapery, and in the noble and dignified character of the heads, show an imitation of Botticelli or Cosimo Roselli. In a later picture, in the Church of S. Croce at the same place, a S. Sebastian and two Angels are altogether Umbrian in character and feeling, whilst the broad and well studied folds of the draperies point to the influence of Verocchio and the sculpturesque school of painting. In the "Martyrdom of S. Sebastian," in an oratory dedicated to the Saint in Urbino, he appears first to have attempted, in certain figures of archers and in an angel, some of those effects of foreshortening which he had been taught by Mantegna

* This fresco, detached from a wall on the ground floor, has been removed into one of the upper rooms of the house. It has been so frequently restored and repainted that little but the composition and the general forms remain.

or Melozzo. In a votive picture painted in 1488, in the Convent of Montefiorentino, near Urbania, for the Count Carlo Olivo Planiani or Pianani, who is represented in full armour, Santi has successfully united the broad manner of the Florentine school with the rich and carefully executed details of such Umbrian masters as Gentile da Fabriano and Pietro Perugino. A peacock's feather, the badge of the Ghibelline party to which the Count belonged, and the reflections and play of light upon the armour, deserve especial notice as examples of highly successful naturalistic painting. A picture in the Church of the Franciscans at Urbino, painted in 1489, evidently shows the influence of Mantegna, with whose works he had now probably become well acquainted through his visit to Mantua, especially in the life-like and dignified character of the heads, and the treatment of the draperies, whilst some lovely angels breathe the true Umbrian spirit.

The fresco at Cagli, being one of the latest of his works, represents his most matured style, founded upon all that he had gathered from the study of the various schools of Italy. It is unquestionably a very remarkable work, whether on account of its actual merits, or considered with reference to the period in which it was executed, entitling Santi to a far higher place amongst the painters of his day than has been assigned to him. In his earlier pictures his principal faults consist of a dark heavy outline, a cold leaden colouring, especially in the shadows, an absence of those delicate and subtle middle-tints and half-tints which give truth and harmony to painting, and the feebly drawn attenuated extremities of his figures. These defects pervade more or less all the works by him I have described. Although he imitated the Florentine masters in

some things, he does not appear to have adopted their grand and natural composition. All his pictures are devotional, and all are treated, in the arrangement of the groups, more or less according to the conventional mode of the previous century. His merits consist in the truthful and animated imitation of nature in single parts and in details,—his portraits, especially, being very life-like and highly individualised,—in the lofty and noble expression of his heads, in the breadth and dignity of his draperies, and in the grace and deeply spiritual feeling which characterises his representations of women and children, more especially of the latter, who are often of exquisite loveliness and simplicity. The Cagli fresco, whilst not without some of the blemishes I have pointed out in his style, unites more of these high qualities than any other of his works.*

The general arrangement and subject of the fresco are purely conventional. Although apparently very dissimilar in its two parts, the whole is meant to carry out one simple and connected idea. The composition of the lower portion, the Madonna between four saints, two on each side of her, is derived from the early *ancona*, or altar-piece, in which the Virgin and Child occupied a centre panel, and various holy personages separate compartments on either side of her. This artificial grouping was occasionally adopted to a late period

* Kugler ("Handbook of Painting," Italian School, vol. i. p. 263) remarks, "Giovanni is seen in his highest beauty in this fresco . . . His drawing is not only fuller and more animated, and the colouring fresher than in his other works, but in the expression of many of his figures he approaches the grace of his son Raphael." Passavant, in his Life of Raphael (vol. i. p. 37), also places it first among Santi's works. See likewise Pungileoni, "Elogio Storico," p. 37; and Dennistoun's "Dukes of Urbino," vol. ii. p. 208. Rosini in his "History of Italian Painting" (vol. iii. p. 171) erroneously describes the subject of this fresco as an "Epifania," and calls the angel to the right St. John the Baptist.

by many even of the great masters of the Florentine school, and was not altogether abandoned by Raphael himself. It was followed by Santi in seven out of the nine important works by him still preserved. In the Cagli fresco the Virgin and Infant Christ are attended by the Baptist as the Precursor, St. Peter as the head of the Catholic Church, and St. Francis and St. Dominic as the founders of the two great religious orders which were mainly instrumental in establishing its authority. According to a tradition the angel, with his arms crossed, to the right of the throne, is the portrait of Giovanni's son, Raphael, who accompanied him to Cagli. The age would well agree with that of the boy, then nine years old, and in that gentle and beautiful face may perhaps be traced the features which his fond master Pietro, and he himself in manhood, not unfrequently portrayed.*

This group of the Virgin and Child, with the two youthful angels, is very graceful and pleasing. It is conceived in the devotional spirit of the Umbrian school, but has less of its affectation and mannerism. The action is very natural, the drawing animated and on the whole correct, the nude being fuller and less hard in outline than in the painter's easel pictures. The figures of the four saints are grand and dignified, the heads noble, and distinguished by natural and appro-

* A tracing of this interesting portrait is published by the Arundel Society. Other figures in Santi's pictures have been pointed out as the portraits of Raphael when a boy. An angel in the altar-piece of the church of the Francescans at Urbino was long believed to represent him, but it has been shown to be that of a child of the Buffi family. An angel in the Montefiorentino altar-piece was also supposed to be the young Raphael, but as he could not have been nine years old when that picture was painted, he could scarcely have sat for a youth of twelve or thirteen. Passavant has suggested that the Madonna and Child preserved in Santi's house at Urbino are portraits of Magia Ciarla and her infant son; but this is a mere conjecture.

priate expression; the draperies are broadly treated and the extremities, the hands and feet, are less attenuated and meagre, except, perhaps, in the figure of the Baptist, than in other works of the painter. Whilst the influence of Mantegna can be detected in these figures, that of the Florentine school is perhaps still more evident, especially in the very fine representation of St. Peter, which reminds one of Fra Bartolomeo. The conventional division of the picture into two distinct parts produces an awkward effect, especially as the figure of Christ in the upper compartment is of smaller proportions than the figures in the lower. The artist evidently intended, by this difference of size, to show that the upper part represented a vision, or the revelation of a future event foreshadowed at the birth of the Saviour. The figure of Christ is fairly drawn, but a little weak. The expression is marked by solemn majesty. The sleeping guards, tossed in various attitudes, are skilfully foreshortened after the manner of Mantegna, which Giovanni in this instance evidently imitated. The landscape is altogether conventional, too green and monotonous in colour, and very inferior in sentiment and true feeling for nature to the backgrounds of Pietro Perugino.

Except in the upper division, where it is somewhat raw, the colouring is in good keeping, more harmonious and lively, more transparent and less heavy in the shadows than is usual with the painter. That of the masses of drapery is light and simple, according to the habit of the painters of the fifteenth century. The carnations and luminous high white lights in the flesh tints, especially in the heads of the Virgin and Child, have a rich and pleasing effect. Still the general tone of colour is deficient in that brilliant glow, so characteristic of the best painters of the Umbrian school, nor

has it the sober truthfulness which distinguishes the great Florentine masters of the period. It is peculiarly Giovanni's own, and gives that distinguishing character or style to his works by which they may be at once detected. He has profusely touched some of the draperies with gold, and has surrounded the figure of Christ in the lunette, and the head of the Child in the lower part, with gilded rays, a common practice of the painters of the period to give additional brilliancy to their pictures.

The technical qualities of the fresco show that Santi had great command over the material, and it is to be regretted that more of his works in it have not been preserved. With the exception of a "Pieta," or dead Christ, with St. Jerome and St. Bonaventura, over the tomb of the wife of Pietro Tiranni, adjoining the chapel of the family, and the Virgin and Child in the house at Urbino, I know of no other fresco by him. A short time ago one discovered under whitewash, in the same church of the Dominicans at Cagli, and attributed to him, was destroyed by the monks. I saw a head cut from it, which had all the characteristics of Santi's style.

It was during his sojourn at Cagli, or shortly after his return to Urbino, that Santi lost his wife, Magia Ciarla, the mother of Raphael. He married a year after, Bernardina the daughter of Piero di Parte, a goldsmith. On the 1st of August 1494, about three years after he had painted his great fresco, he died and was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Urbino. A life of careful industry had enabled him to save property to the value of 860 florins, which he divided by his will between his wife, his only son,* and his

* Giovanni had a daughter by his second wife, but she died an infant.

sister's husband Bartolomeo, leaving to the Brotherhood of the Sta. Maria della Misericordia in Urbino such property as might remain undisposed of, in the event of the failure of his descendants. That event was not long in occurring; for on the death of his illustrious son in 1520, the Brotherhood claimed their right, and received, after various deductions for legacies, 355 florins.*

Santi left his son to the care of Magia Ciarla's brother, Simone. His uncle and guardian, and not his father as erroneously stated by Vasari, placed Raphael to complete his education as a painter with one of the most distinguished masters of the time, Pietro Perugino. The youth was then about twelve years old, and had already shown proofs of the genius which afterwards raised him to the summit of his art. That genius had been lovingly developed by his father, whose constant companion he had been. Brought up in the society of those men eminent in literature and art who frequented the Court of Urbino, surrounded by the monuments of modern painting and ancient sculpture which adorned Federigo's palace, and under the guidance of one well able to direct his taste and cultivate his understanding, Raphael's training as an artist had already far advanced when his father died. That Santi's early teaching and example exercised a permanent influence upon his son, to be traced

* To his wife Bernardina, Santi left various rich articles of apparel, which are curiously specified in the barbarous law Latin of the period in his will. She also had the use of his house in Urbino. Passavant, "Rafael von Urbino," vol. i. p. 407. The principal authorities for the life of Giovanni Santi are, Pungileoni, who, in his "Elogio Storico," first collected with curious diligence all that could be found relative to the painter in the archives and traditions of his native country; and Passavant, who has added some interesting documents to this collection, and has illustrated Santi's works by his able criticisms. See also a notice of the painter in Dennistoun's "Dukes of Urbino," vol. ii.; and in the Commentary to the Life of Raphael in Le Monnier's edition of Vasari's Lives, published at Florence.

even at the period of the highest development of his powers, can scarcely be doubted when the works of the two are compared. In the Cagli fresco, for instance, Passavant has pointed out the resemblance between the Virgin and Child and the group in a picture painted by Raphael in his youth, and now in the possession of the Alfani family at Perugia, and the Baptist seems to have suggested the figure of the same saint in the well-known 'Madonna di Fuligno.' Raphael closely copied the Christ in the same fresco in a cartoon for tapestry now in the Vatican. An archer in the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian at Urbino is recognised in the young man breaking the rod in the beautiful picture of the Sposalizio now in the Brera. Many other analogies could be pointed out. A 'Tobit and the Angel' in the Church of St. Francis in the same city, was long believed to be by Raphael, and the peculiarly "Raphaelesque" character of a Saint Sebastian and some angels in the picture at Fano leads Passavant to remark, "that these figures have a charm which gives a foreshadowing of Raphael," whilst he observes in reference to Santi's representation of the heads of children "that both in type and expression they have a striking resemblance to those of his son." The influence of his father is very visible in the earliest of his works, painted when he was still Pietro's scholar, and was imitating his manner. For he soon exceeded his new master in the dignified and unconventional character of his heads, in the broad treatment of his draperies, and in the exceeding loveliness and natural grace of his angels and children—precisely the characteristics of his father's style. Passavant has remarked that in his clear white lights and reddish transitions, especially in the flesh tints, Raphael imitated the principles of colouring adopted by Santi, and especially observable in his representations of children and young persons. But it was

undoubtedly from Pietro's teaching that he acquired that richness and brilliancy yet perfect harmony of colour, which give such exquisite beauty to his earliest pictures, and to which Santi never attained.

Vasari declares that Raphael helped his father in many of his works. This may have been the case, but he was too young to have rendered him any material assistance, and it is idle now to seek in Santi's productions traces of the hand of his son.

Whilst Santi, by his knowledge, experience, and taste, had exercised upon Raphael the influence I have attempted to describe, he was deficient in that vigour and originality which lead to the foundation of a school or to the real progress of art. Praiseworthy diligence may end in excellent mediocrity. The conscientious imitation of nature in details and in parts may produce very valuable and interesting pictures. But it required the genius of a Mantegna, a Verocchio, or a Luca Signorelli to mould their generation, and to prepare the way for those who have carried their art to the highest perfection it has attained. The works of such painters may have a thousand faults, may even be repulsive to those who cannot appreciate their merits, or feel the inspiration that produced them. But they mark an epoch in painting, and furnish the ideas and materials which others under more favourable circumstances, and enjoying the advantages those very works confer, have been able to develop. Thus it was that the visit of Raphael to Florence and his contemplation of the masterpieces of its school, fired the genius which gave birth to the Frescoes of the Vatican, the Cartoons and the Madonna di S. Sisto.

Although, therefore, Santi founded no school and left no professed followers, yet his conscientious study of nature, his feeling for beauty, and his endeavour to select and combine that which was most truthful and dignified in the styles of his contemporaries, entitle him to a high rank amongst the painters of his day. That he was the father of Raphael and his earliest teacher gives him an additional claim to the respect of posterity. In their desire to preserve the works of such men—works likely to perish and men less known than from their intrinsic merits they deserve—the Council of the Arundel Society have selected for publication Santi's fresco at Cagli.*

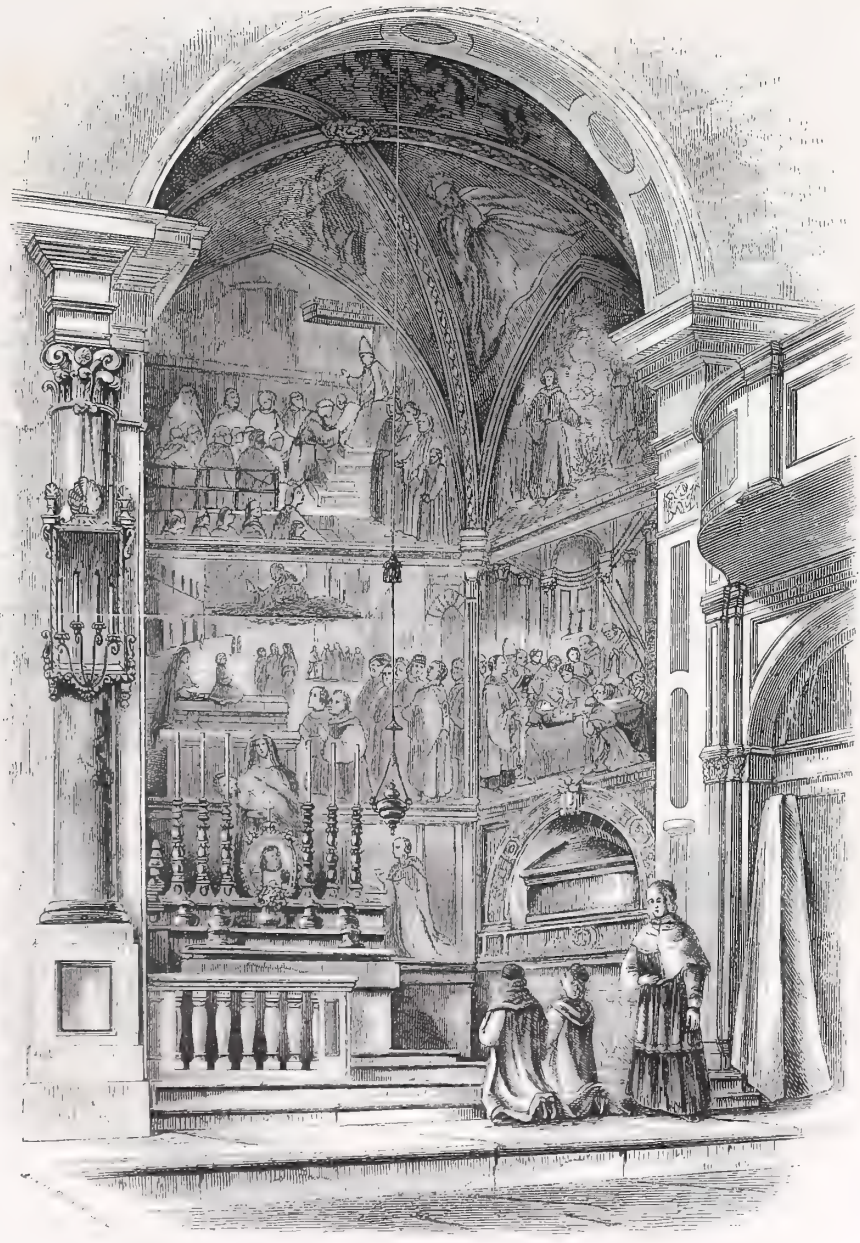
A. H. LAYARD.

* I cannot forbear noticing the admirable manner in which this fresco has been executed in chromo-lithography from Signor Mariannecci's excellent copy, by Messrs. Storch and Kramer of Berlin, under the able superintendence and direction of Mr. L. Gruner. It is the best specimen with which I am acquainted of a process that is being gradually brought to high perfection under these skilful chromo-lithographers.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

AND HIS

Fresco of the Death of S. Francis.



THE SASSETTI CHAPEL.

MOST travellers in Italy know the old bridge—the "Ponte Vecchio"—of Florence, with its quaint jewellers' shops, which have hung, from time out of mind, over the Arno. In

one of them, according to tradition, Tommaso di Currado Bigordi, a goldsmith of repute, followed his calling in the middle of the fifteenth century. He had shown much skill in chiselling votive offerings and various ornaments for the churches of his native city; and he had become the fashionable jeweller of the day for certain garlands in gold and silver, which were worn in those luxurious times by the Florentine damsels.* He was consequently called "Il Ghirlandaio," or "Grillandaio," the Garland-maker, a name which passed to his descendants.

Tommaso was the father of eight children. Domenico, the eldest, born in 1449, was placed at an early age in the shop to learn his father's trade. But nature had intended him for a painter, not a jeweller. He soon showed his natural inclination by making rapid portraits of those who chanced to pass by his father's shop, instead of minding his work. His education as a jeweller was, indeed, favourable to the development of his talents as a painter, especially as a draughtsman. Many of the greatest artists of the fifteenth century, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Masolino, Verrocchio, the Pollaioli, and Botticelli, and even Andrea del Sarto, learnt the first rudiments of their art in the same way. The early practice of modelling and chiselling gives vigour, firmness, and decision to the hand, and to the eye accuracy of judgment as regards outline and a just perception of form. The faculty he had acquired of

* In the severer days of the republic, the use of such ornaments was forbidden by law. "Quod nulla mulier presumat deferre in capite coronam auream vel argenteam vel aliquem lapidem pretiosum," said a solemn ordinance (Gaye, Carteggio, i. 447). Vasari, in his Life of Ghirlandaio, attributes the invention of these garlands to Tommaso, an evident mistake, in which he is followed by Baldinucci in his Notizie dei Professori del Disegno.

making portraits from the life led to that feeling for nature, truth, and individuality for which his works afterwards became remarkable. Thus Domenico, without frequenting an academy, attending lectures, or studying from the professional model, laid the best foundation for an artist's successful career. His father was at length convinced that it was useless to keep him to a trade in which he took no delight, and finished by consenting that he should become a painter. But it was necessary that he should study the technical part of his new profession, and for this purpose he appears to have entered the "bottega" of Alessio Baldovinetti, a Florentine master of some fame.

Alessio has been unfortunate in having attributed to him by collectors and connoisseurs a number of pictures of uncommon ugliness, for which some other author could not readily be found. But, in truth, few authentic works by him have been preserved. Almost the only one of any importance is a much injured fresco of the Nativity, in the outer court of the church of the Annunziata at Florence, in which he has borrowed the principal group, the Virgin adoring the new-born Child, from Filippo Lippi. Vasari especially praises it for a truthful and diligent execution of details. A broad landscape, with towns, castles, rivers, and mountains, executed in a very minute but somewhat mechanical and conventional style, and some objects in the foreground well imitated from nature, justify to a certain extent his admiration. The heads, especially those in the ornamental border surrounding the subject, have a vigorous portrait-like character, which reminds one of the works of his distinguished pupil. His outline is, however, hard and dry, especially in his draperies, and his flesh tints have a heavy leaden hue, which

Ghirlandaio himself appears to have unfortunately copied in his tempera pictures.*

But there were models and examples in Florence better than any Alessio could furnish, and of these the young painter appears to have eagerly availed himself. Already, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Masolino and Masaccio had inaugurated a new era in painting by their works in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine. They had been the first since the revival of the arts to attempt successfully a close and truthful imitation of nature, not only in the action of single figures and in the disposition of different groups, but in an individuality of expression given to each actor in the scene represented. In thus adhering to truth they nevertheless selected—and this fact must always be borne in mind—that which was most elevated, dignified, and refined in nature, following her faithfully, but always in her happiest mood and in her most noble development.

The conventional art of the fourteenth century, with its poetry and its deep religious sentiment, was no longer in harmony with the feelings and belief of the age. The earnest faith, the mysticism and superstitions of that century, had been gradually fading away before the more profound study of philosophy and the spread of material civilisation. A new phase of human life required new

* Amongst the very few authentic works by Alessio Baldovinetti is an altar-piece on panel, in very fair preservation, now in the Uffizi, at Florence. It represents the Virgin and Child in the midst of a group of saints, and contains some fine original heads, but is marked by the same heavy leaden tone of colour in the flesh tints, as the fresco. An altar-piece in the National Gallery, attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi, may be in part if not entirely by Alessio. In the latter part of his life, he devoted himself to working in mosaic—an art in which he appears to have attained great proficiency and shown considerable taste.

exponents in art as in literature. In painting it found them in Masolino and Masaccio, in sculpture in Donatello and Ghiberti. As is ever the case, the period of transition had its representative painters, like Fra Angelico and Lorenzo Monaco, who, whilst adhering to the traditions of the past, were unable to resist the influences of the present. But the first who really embodied in their works the true spirit of the age were undoubtedly Masolino and Masaccio. They were followed, but not equalled, by Paolo Uccello and Benozzo Gozzoli—the one a bold and original painter, the other one of great richness of imagination, fertility of invention, and fondness for nature, but occasionally extravagant, and somewhat wanting in the highest qualities of his art.

Domenico Ghirlandaio was probably not much under thirty years of age when he first opened his own "bottega," or shop—or "studio" as it would be called in these days—as a painter of pictures.* Of his earlier life we have no record of any kind. No authentic work by him bears date before 1480, and nearly all his works are dated, although not one of them, with the exception of a single fresco in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella of Florence, is signed with his name. He had already been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the works of Masolino and Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, which evidently influenced his style from the commencement of his career.† Like those painters, and indeed like

* According to the return or declaration of property (denunzia de' beni) made by his father in 1480, Domenico had even then no settled place of abode: "Domenicho mio figluolo anni 31, é dipintore, non à luogo fermo." Gaye, i. 266.

† The frescoes in this chapel were still unfinished, Filippino Lippi not having completed them until some years after. The Arundel Society has now secured admirable copies by Sig. Mariannecci of all these great works for publication.

all the great painters of the time of the revival of the arts, he chose fresco as best suited to his genius and to his conception of the highest aim of painting. All his best works are in that material.

Domenico's earliest works, according to Vasari, were some frescoes in the Chapel of the Vespucci family, in the Church of the Ognissanti in his native city. In one of them he introduced the portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, who was destined to give his name to a new world. Amerigo was then twenty-nine years of age, and unknown to fame. These interesting frescoes were destroyed in 1616, less than a century and a half after they had been executed. Probably about the same time, or soon after, he painted the large fresco of "The Last Supper," still existing in the refectory of the convent of the same church, and bearing the date of 1480.* In this work, which is evidently a very early one, there is little attempt at composition, or picturesque grouping of the figures. They are placed at table, as was the custom at that time in such pictures, as if they formed part of the assembly of monks who met in the hall to eat, in solemn silence, their daily meals. The heads, however, are marked by considerable diversity of expression; the various emotions, which the hearers of their Lord's words might be supposed to experience, are portrayed with skill, and in some instances there is much grandeur and elevation of character. These qualities are particularly shown in an apostle leaning his head upon his hand. The drapery, too, is marked by breadth and

* The fresco of "The Cintola," or of the Virgin Mary leaving her girdle when raised to heaven, in the sacristy of the Church of San Niccolò, in Florence, attributed to Ghirlandaio, has been so completely repainted, that it is difficult to say whether or not it is by the master. The date of 1450 now upon it is a bungling addition worthy of a Florentine restorer.

dignity of treatment, and falls in large and well-disposed folds. In the same church, but removed from its original position, is a fresco representing St. Jerome at his desk, also bearing the date of 1480, chiefly remarkable for the careful and minute execution of the details.

The fresco of "The Last Supper," in the refectory of the Convent of St. Mark, at Florence, appears by its style and character to belong to about the same period as that in the Convent of the Ognissanti, which it very closely resembles, especially in the background. The heads in this work have, however, less strength and character, especially that of the Saviour, which is deficient in dignity and grandeur. The composition is even more conventional. In these three works much mastery is already shown over the use of fresco—especially in the "St. Jerome," in which the colours are still remarkably clear, bright, and luminous.

Although Vasari mentions several important works, upon which Domenico Ghirlandaio must at this period have been engaged, such as the story of San Paolino in the Church of Santa Croce, none of them have been preserved. His reputation had now been established, and his fame had spread beyond his native city, for about this time he was invited to Rome, with other great masters of the day, to adorn the chapel recently built by Pope Sixtus IV.*

* Vasari, as usual, has involved the life of Ghirlandaio in inextricable confusion, as far as dates are concerned. He states that the painter was invited to Rome by Sixtus IV., after he had painted the "St. Jerome" in the Church of the Ognissanti, which bears the date of 1480, and yet he places the frescoes of the Sassetti Chapel, finished, according to the date upon them, in 1485, before this work. He also places the picture in the church of the Foundling Hospital at Florence, dated in 1488, before Ghirlandaio's visit to Rome. To

He had been engaged, probably a little earlier, by the Municipality, or Signoria, of Florence, to paint one side of the great hall which contained the celebrated clock of Lorenzo della Volpeia, and was hence called the Sala dell' Orologio, and afterwards the Sala dei Gigli, from the fleurs-de-lys on its remaining walls. That work appears to have been carried on at intervals and was not finished until 1485, as memoranda of payment to him of sums on account between 1481 and that year are still preserved.*

The fresco that Ghirlandaio, in rivalry with his eminent contemporaries, painted in the Sistine Chapel, representing the calling of Peter and Andrew, shows a decided advance on the works he had previously executed. In it he unquestionably displays the powers of a great painter. The influence of Masaccio is very evident in the

add still more to the confusion, he describes, in his life of Cosimo Rosselli, all the painters employed in decorating the Sistine Chapel as working there together, although Sandro Botticelli left Rome before 1480, and Luca Signorelli did not go there until 1483 or 1484. According to the biographer, Francesco Tornabuoni, a wealthy Florentine merchant residing in Rome, was so pleased with some frescoes that Ghirlandaio had painted over the tomb of his wife in the Church of the Minerva, that he gave the painter, on his return to Florence, letters to his relation Giovanni Tornabuoni, who thereupon commissioned Domenico to decorate the chapel of the choir behind the high altar of Sta. Maria Novella. But that great work was not commenced before 1485. I prefer, therefore, to place Ghirlandaio's residence at Rome between 1481 and 1483. Rumohr and Kugler assign an earlier date to it, before the execution of the frescoes in the Ognissanti (Italian Schools of Painting, v. i., p. 209). Baldinucci, on the other hand, by an evident error, says that he painted there after finishing the Sassetti Chapel; Sixtus IV. died in 1484, a year before that chapel was completed. Rosini, in his history of Italian painting (v. iii., p. 141), has fallen into the same mistake. The frescoes in the refectories of the Ognissanti and of St. Mark to my mind show evidence of being earlier works than the great fresco of "The calling of Peter and Andrew" in the Sistine Chapel. It is scarcely probable that he should have been summoned to Rome to enter upon so important a work as the decoration of the new building, unless his reputation had been already established by the execution of some great undertaking, and there is no proof whatever of his having executed any such prior to 1480.

* Gaye, Carteggio, i. 577. 581.

general composition, in the grouping of the figures, in the studied individuality of each head, in the noble and elevated character of the expression, and in the broad and truthful treatment of the drapery. In all these respects he shows himself a follower of that great painter, and of Masolino. At the same time, in the details of the landscape, in which there is an earnest desire to represent nature truthfully, but in a poetical spirit, he is much superior to both masters. He may have profited in this part of his art by the teaching of Alessio Baldovinetti, whom, however, he had already left far behind.

In this work, not inferior in some of the highest qualities of Art to any that adorn the side walls of that celebrated chapel, Ghirlandaio first shows himself a worthy exponent of the spirit of the age in which he lived, by his truthful and simple, yet noble and dignified representation of his subject. The newly-called Apostles kneel before the Saviour, who, accompanied by two followers, forms the centre and principal point of interest of the picture. To the right are many spectators, men, youths, and children, evidently portraits of contemporaries of the painter, dressed in the costume of his time. They contemplate the scene with solemn interest, and are introduced rather to give fulness and richness to the composition than as actors in the event. At the opposite side are other figures less individualised and in more lively action. In the distance two other parts of the same story, with the same principal actors, are represented, in accordance with the custom of the period. The background consists of a beautiful landscape, with a lake, hills, a walled town, castles, and various buildings—all represented with good effect, and with a knowledge of perspective in advance of the painters who had preceded him.

The "Resurrection of Christ," which he painted on the wall to the right of the principal entrance of the same chapel, appears to have been partly destroyed not very long after its completion. It was entirely repainted less than a century later by a Flemish painter, who was known in Italy as Arrigo Fiammingo.*

On his return to Florence, Ghirlandaio finished the fresco begun four years before in the hall of the Palazzo Vecchio, and commenced another great work, the decoration of a chapel for the Sassetti family in the Church of the Stma. Trinità. The painting in the Sala dell' Orologio consists of a grand and very elaborate architectural design in the Renaissance, or revived classic style, into which are introduced figures larger than life of San Zanobi, a patron saint of the city, enthroned, and two other saints. Behind them are seen the Duomo, the Campanile and the Baptistery. Two lions, in chiaroscuro, bear standards with the arms of the people and magistracy of Florence. Above, also in chiaroscuro, are six single figures of illustrious characters chosen from Roman history, and a lunette with the Virgin and Child, for whom the painter has chosen types of beauty and grace rarely seen in his pictures of the Holy Family. The whole composition is strictly architectural and decorative, and the subject is not one which would call forth the peculiar abilities of the painter. The figures are, however, treated with grandeur and dignity, and the work displays Domenico's usual skill in the practice of fresco.†

* Lanzi, v. ii. p. 129. Of the four subjects from the lives of the Virgin and John the Baptist, which, according to Vasari, he painted over the tomb of the wife of Francesco Tornabuoni, in the Church of the Minerva, at Rome, not a trace now remains.

† Ghirlandaio received sixty florins for the figure of San Zanobi. He was assisted in the work by one Sandro Marini. Gaye, i. 578.

On the 15th December, 1485, as an inscription still testifies, Ghirlandaio completed the frescoes which adorn the Sassetti Chapel. Francesco Sassetti wishing to raise a becoming monument to himself and his wife, Madonna Nera, employed the painter, whose fame was now very great, to paint the walls of the chapel in which they were to be buried, with the history of his patron saint, St. Francis of Assisi. "This work," Vasari says, "Ghirlandaio executed with wonderful ability, and with the utmost grace, tenderness, and love." In addition to six events in the history of the saint, he painted in fresco the portraits of Francesco Sassetti and his wife, admirably true to life, kneeling on either side of the altar, and, as was customary, a large picture on "tavola," or panel, and in tempera, representing the Nativity of Christ, to be placed upon it. The remains of the noble Florentine and his wife were subsequently deposited in two urns of black marble, in opposite vaulted recesses. The arches of these recesses are exquisitely carved with groups of figures and arabesques of classic character; whether designed or not by the painter I am ignorant. The chapel is still preserved without much alteration, except the removal of Ghirlandaio's altar-piece.*

The vaulted roof is divided into four compartments by ribs painted with garlands of flowers and fruit. In each compartment is painted a sybil—then a very common mode of decorating the ceilings of chapels. On the outside of the arch facing the church was a fresco of the Tiburtine Sybil announcing the coming of Christ

* This picture is now in the gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts, and also bears the date of 1485. For a general view of the chapel and its present contents, see woodcut from a drawing by Mrs. Higford Burr, at the head of this notice.

to the Emperor Augustus, much praised by Vasari for its brilliant and admirable colouring, but of which no traces now remain. The frescoes representing the history of the saint are six in number, and are unequal in merit, the painter having evidently been much assisted in some of them by his scholars. They have suffered from long neglect and the usual ill treatment, but are nevertheless for the most part fairly preserved, especially the most important and interesting of the series, "The Death of St. Francis," which the Arundel Society has selected for publication.*

The first in the series (filling the upper compartment on the left hand wall) represents the Saint renouncing his family and patrimony, and throwing himself naked at the feet of the Bishop of Assisi. The story is well told. The composition is simple and natural. The principal actors in the scene are the Bishop and the young enthusiast, whose father is restrained from advancing towards him by the bystanders. A number of persons, probably contemporaries of the painter, are introduced as spectators. In the next fresco the Saint is seen receiving, from a miraculous appearance of the crucified Saviour, the "stigmata," or the marks of His wounds, whilst a friar gazes with amazement upon the appa-

* The chromolith has been executed with their usual skill by Messrs. Storch and Kramer, of Berlin, under the superintendence of Professor Gruner, from an admirable copy by Sig. Mariannecci. These frescoes, as well as those behind the high altar of Sta. Maria Novella, have been copied and engraved by the two Lasinios. But the engravings, like all those executed by the same hands, are deficient in spirit, and fail to give the true character of the originals, especially in the heads. Still the Lasinios deserve great praise for their laudable attempts to preserve records of some of the most important remains of early Italian art, which they saw perishing around them at a time when there was but little feeling in Italy for such things, and public taste had not yet learnt to appreciate their interest and value.

rition. This subject is somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory in treatment, and has been much and very badly restored and repainted. In the third compartment St. Francis presents the rules of his newly established order to Pope Honorius III. In this composition the painter has endeavoured to represent as closely as possible the simplest conception of such an event. The Pope, enthroned, receives the document from the kneeling Saint. The cardinals are seated in two rows, extending across the picture, one row turning their backs upon the spectator. Groups of persons in the costume of the fifteenth century witness the ceremony, whilst others, ascending a flight of steps, in the immediate foreground, have only their heads and shoulders above the lower line of the picture, a mode of introducing figures more than once adopted by Ghirlandaio, but not always with good effect. In this fresco are many portraits of eminent Florentines, amongst whom Vasari records that of Lorenzo the Magnificent. In order to give still more reality to the scene, Ghirlandaio has represented it as occurring in the square of the Palazzo Vecchio, near the old palace itself and the celebrated Loggie of Bernardo Orcagna.*

Beneath this fresco is represented the Saint suddenly appearing and restoring to life a child of the Spini family, who had been killed by falling from a window. The child, seated upon a bier, is surrounded by groups of women and citizens, amongst whom the painter has introduced, as was his wont, several members of the Sassetti family, and many of his contemporaries. In the background he has represented the Church of the Stma. Trinità, with its

* Documents recently discovered prove that these Loggie were built not by Andrea, to whom they had been from time immemorial attributed, but by his brother Bernardo.

ancient façade, and some buildings which still exist. In the distance is seen the roadway over the bridge in perspective.

The fifth fresco represents St. Francis before the Sultan of Syria, offering to prove, by passing through fire, his divine mission. The last is the death of the Saint, and is not only the most important and interesting of the series, but the one which, perhaps more than any other of his works, combines the highest qualities of Ghirlandaio as a fresco painter.* The body of the dying Saint, wrapped in the coarse garment of his order, is stretched upon a bier. His disciples gather round him. One looks with an expression of most lively grief into the face of his expiring master. Others, kneeling, press his hands and feet to their lips with deep emotion. A citizen, in the dress of the painter's time, opens the garment of the Saint, and places a finger on the miraculous wound in his side. Another, amazed at the sight of the "stigmata," turns to a friar behind him. At the head of the bier stands a bishop, with spectacled nose, chanting the office for the dead.† On either

* Kugler observes of this fresco, (Schools of Painting in Italy, v. i., p. 210):—"The Death of the Saint is the most beautiful of these pictures, and one of the few really historical works of Ghirlandaio. The simple, solemn arrangement of the whole; the artless, unaffected dignity of the single figures; the noble, manly expression of sorrowing sympathy; the perfection of the execution—combine to place this picture among the most excellent of modern art."

† Vasari, Life of Ghirlandaio, says, in his quaint way, of this capital figure and of one of the friars—"A friar is seen kissing the Saint's hand, so admirably represented that it would be impossible better to describe the scene in painting. There is also a bishop in his robes with spectacles on his nose, chanting the vigils for the dead. It is only because we do not hear his voice that we are at last persuaded that he is but a picture." The heads of the bishop, and of the priest standing at his left side, are now published, in facsimile from the originals, by the Arundel Society. Such reproductions are valuable to those who would study the handling of the ancient masters, and their mode of executing their subjects in fresco.

FRESCO BY GIOTTO, IN THE CHURCH OF STA. CROCE, FLORENCE.

side of him is a priest, one bearing a censer, the other ready to sprinkle the corpse with holy water. At the other end of the bier are three acolytes, carrying a cross and lighted torches. Several citizens of Florence, also in the costume of Ghirlandaio's day, appear as spectators. The one in the red headdress immediately behind the bishop is the painter himself. He has frequently thus introduced his own portrait into his works. The background consists of an apse with an altar, and an open colonnade of classic architecture, through which is seen a distant landscape of hill, plain, and river.

The composition of this fine fresco has been justly admired for its simplicity and truth, and, at the same time, for the very skilful arrangement of the figures. It is worthy of note, that Ghirlandaio has followed in it, with little variation, a traditional representation of the subject. The earliest example of it is, I believe, Giotto's fresco in the Bardi Chapel in the Church of Santa Croce, at Florence, the walls of which were until recently covered with the usual coat of whitewash. The great painter had there represented the death of the same Saint, a subject which, from the influence St. Francis had exercised over the whole Catholic world, was one of the most popular of the age. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcut, that not only the general composition, but even the choice and arrangement of the figures are nearly the same as in Ghirlandaio's fresco. Indeed, almost the only change Ghirlandaio has made is the transfer from one side of the bier to the other of the citizen who exposes the miraculous wound of the Saint, and the omission of one of the kneeling friars, in order to avoid the monotony of a repetition of two figures in nearly the same relative position. Giotto had,

however, a reason for introducing four kneeling figures—they suited his idea of symmetry, and at the same time indicated that there were four "stigmata" on the hands and feet of the Saint. He has introduced his own contemporaries as spectators of the event, giving them the dress of his time, as Ghirlandaio has depicted that of a later period. It is possible that even Giotto may have taken the composition from some earlier painter, who had attempted to represent truthfully, but rudely, an event which had occurred during his own lifetime, and of which he may have received a description from an eye-witness. But the general arrangement of the figures, the inimitable truth and simplicity of the expression, and the admirable manner, so true to nature, in which the story is told, bear evidence of Giotto's own invention. He was followed in this mode of representing similar subjects by many painters and sculptors. Ghirlandaio himself repeated it, with some little variation, in a fresco of "The Death of Sta. Fina," painted for the Collegiate Church of San Geminiano; it was imitated to a certain extent by Fra Filippo Lippi, in his fine fresco of the death of St. Stephen, in the Duomo of Prato; and even by Andrea del Sarto, in the fresco at the Annunziata, representing the miracle of the raising to life of two children. Amongst the sculptors of the fifteenth century, Benedetto da Maiano almost copied it in one of his bas-reliefs on the pulpit of the Church of Sta. Croce, at Florence. Each artist, as he borrowed the idea, enlarged or endeavoured to improve upon it, seeking to render it as perfect as possible; although, indeed, in many respects there was little to improve in Giotto's admirable composition. Thus we find that progress mainly consists in the development of that which has gone before rather than in purely original invention, and is as slow

and gradual in the fine arts as it is in every other branch of human knowledge.

As Ghirlandaio had not disdained to take, like other eminent masters, the composition of his fresco from an earlier painter, so his general treatment, as I have already observed, is evidently founded upon the works of Masolino and Masaccio. But by his earnest seeking after truth and nature, and by his power of representing them worthily, he advanced his art both in the technical part and in those higher qualities which should distinguish it. Ghirlandaio thus placed himself in the front rank amongst those artists who were the especial exponents of the most dignified manners, the most enlightened opinions, and the noblest sentiments of the Florentine citizen of the second half of the fifteenth century. It is thus that the truly great painter is the one who portrays with his brush, as the truly great poet is the one who describes in his verse, the best moral and intellectual features of the age in which he lives. If these features be really great and noble, and therefore for ever worthy of admiration, the poet sings and the painter paints for all time. If they be not, they sing and paint for their generation alone.

Ghirlandaio's "Death of St. Francis" is one of those works of the fifteenth century which is especially characteristic of an epoch in the history of painting, when the imitation of nature was no longer controlled by the conventional and religious spirit which had distinguished the fourteenth century, and had not yet yielded to the influence of the academies, who took their models from the stagnant pools of artificial life, and not from the fresh and living springs of

nature. In the works of the painters of this period, and especially in those of Masaccio, Ghirlandaio, and the two Lippi, we have the source from which Raphael, and the greatest masters of the golden age of painting, drew some of their noblest inspirations, when they combined with the strictest imitation of nature the most poetical and elevated treatment of it, and before they felt the influence of the new and evil taste gathering around them. Yet how essentially do they differ in spirit and conception, and indeed in every particular and detail, from those modern works to which it has been the fashion to apply the epithet of "Pre-Raphaelite!" In them, that which should be the principal object and end of the painter is never made secondary and subservient to insignificant and meaningless details. Whilst nothing that may add to the interest or effect of the whole is neglected, everything holds its relative place. To every object is given just the importance which may be due to it, and no more. The first aim of the painter is to place before the spectator, in the most intelligible and simple form, yet with the highest degree of dignity and grace, compatible with a strict adherence to nature and truth, the story which he has to tell, the sentiments and emotions he has to express. He then adds such details and accessories, and only such, as are absolutely necessary to make the story complete, and to give to it the impress of reality. He feels that any overloading or overcrowding of them—any attempt to give more importance to them than they would have in a scene of every-day life, would detract from that aspect of reality. Whilst he knows that even the best development of human nature may be disfigured by vulgar and ignoble details, he endeavours, like the true poet, to keep them out of view as much as may be consistent with truth, or to make them so subordinate to the main

action, or subject, that they only serve to add grandeur and dignity to it. Whilst ugliness and deformity are as characteristic of the physical condition of man, as depravity and vice are of his moral state, he seeks only to represent that which is beautiful, good, and noble; thus always striving to elevate and chasten that which he touches. These are the principles, whether as regards composition, the selection of types of female beauty and of manly dignity, the arrangement of drapery and the choice of accessories, which guided the painters of the fifteenth century, who prepared the way for Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and the great masters of the beginning of the sixteenth. They are precisely those which are most neglected, or rather, it would seem, intentionally reversed by the modern followers of the so-called "Pre-Raphaelite" schools.

In Ghirlandaio's fresco we see these principles strikingly illustrated. The painter, having chosen the composition which seemed to him best suited to his subject, seeks to give every actor in the scene represented, by expression and action, his relative place in the story. This he has accomplished with admirable skill and judgment. The dying Saint is the centre of interest. The hue of death has already crept over his wan and sunken features. Nearest to him are those disciples who would be most deeply affected by his death, and who testify the depth of their feelings by the liveliest outward signs of grief. Those further off are less moved, whilst the citizens, who stand around as spectators, show only a manly, sober sorrow becoming the solemn occasion. The bishop, his priests and the acolytes, called in to perform the last rites over the expiring Saint, are, by a fine touch of satire, represented as cold and indifferent to what is passing around them, and as merely hurrying

through an accustomed and tedious duty. To bring the scene still more vividly before those for whom he especially painted, Ghirlandaio has introduced into his picture men of the period in which he lived, dressed in their own costume, and has placed them in an edifice of his own day, instead of attempting to represent the architecture of the time and place in which the event really occurred.*

This custom of introducing the portraits of living persons into pictures painted in public places, such as churches and town-halls, was followed by nearly all the great painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from Giotto to Raphael. Whilst a worthy memorial is thus preserved of the illustrious men who may have lived in the painter's day, great truth and apparent reality are given to the scene represented, and a corresponding effect is produced upon the mind of the spectator.

The admirable technical qualities of this work, as indeed of nearly all Ghirlandaio's frescoes, cannot be too highly praised, or too strongly recommended for study to those who are pursuing this branch of their art. He was essentially a painter in fresco, looking upon this material as the one best adapted to the display of his own powers, and to the attainment of the great object and end of painting—the instruction and refinement, as well as the amusement, of mankind. There is no careless work, nor any

* The spot where St. Francis died is now covered by the fine Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, at the foot of the hill on which Assisi is built. The hut in which the Saint lived still stands beneath the dome of the modern church, and is an object of peculiar veneration to all the Roman Catholic world.

over-careful and too minute. The effect required is perfectly attained. The colours are now dim, and the "intonaco" or plaster has in parts fallen away, but this is the result of wilful neglect and ill treatment, and not any carelessness in the execution, or any badness in the materials used by the painter. The general tone of colouring is sober and truthful, and admirably suited to the subject. The subtle gradations of tints, and the manner in which he has arranged the bright colours in sufficient quantities to break the monotony of the sombre garments of the friars who are the principal figures, show the consummate skill of the master.

After he had completed the frescoes of the Stma. Trinitá, Ghirlandaio was engaged with his favourite pupil and brother-in-law, Bastiano Mainardi, in painting the Chapel of Sta. Fina in the Collegiate Church of San Geminiano.* There, in the death of the Virgin Saint, he has shown the same mastery over his art as in the death of St. Francis. The figures are smaller, but the composition, as I have already observed, is nearly similar. He has, however, introduced into it several graceful female forms which make a pleasing variety. The girl stretched upon the bier is a figure of singular beauty and of touching simplicity. As usual, the bystanders are probably portraits in which a strong individuality of character is given with great dignity. The other fresco of this chapel, "St.

* There is no positive proof that the Chapel of Sta. Fina was painted at this precise time, but I am willing to accept the date given by the latest annotators of Vasari which is inferred from the existence at San Geminiano of frescoes executed by Mainardi in 1487. The relics of the Saint were deposited in the chapel in October, 1488, probably immediately after its completion. (Peccori, Storia della terra di S. Geminiano.) A fresco of "The Annunciation" in the oratory of San Giovanni in San Geminiano, attributed to Ghirlandaio, is dated in 1482.

Gregory appearing to Sta. Fina and announcing her approaching death," appears to have been for the most part, if not entirely, the work of his scholar, Mainardi.

The frescoes at San Geminiano were probably executed during a temporary absence from Florence, for Ghirlandaio must have commenced his last and most important undertaking, the decoration of the choir in Sta. Maria Novella, as soon as he had finished the Sassetti Chapel. That great work appears to have been completed in 1490, after a lapse of between four and five years—a short time indeed to accomplish so vast a labour, although he evidently received very considerable assistance in it from his numerous scholars.* Vasari relates how Ghirlandaio came to be employed on this work. The walls of the choir had been originally painted by Andrea Orcagna, one of the most accomplished artists of the fourteenth century, but owing to the bad condition of the roof the frescoes had already, in the middle of the following century, suffered very considerably from the damp. Many enlightened citizens of Florence desired either to have those interesting works restored, or to see the chapel adorned anew by some painter worthy of the task. But the family of Ricci, who had a proprietary right in this part of the church, were not only unwilling to incur the necessary cost themselves, but even refused to allow others to pay it for them, fearing lest their coats of arms and shields should be removed, and their hereditary claims to the chapel should be subsequently disputed.

* According to Vasari the work occupied him four years, and was finished in 1485; but it would appear from contemporary evidence that he is mistaken. The frescoes were probably commenced in that year, and completed in 1490, when the chapel was first exposed to public view (Le Monnier's edition of Vasari's Lives, vol. v. p. 72, note).

At length Giovanni Tornabuoni, to whom Ghirlandaio had brought the letters of recommendation from his brother, the merchant established at Rome, prevailed upon them to allow him to undertake the repairs at his own expense, on the condition that when they were finished the Ricci escutcheons should be placed in the most honourable and conspicuous part of the choir. A solemn contract to this effect was accordingly entered into. Giovanni selected Ghirlandaio to execute the work, and agreed to pay him one thousand two hundred gold ducats, promising to add two hundred ducats more in the event of his being well satisfied with it. The painter did execute his commission to the satisfaction of his employer, but the latter hinted that he would be much pleased if he were released from his promise to pay the additional sum. "Domenico," says his biographer, "who esteemed glory and honour far more than riches, consented at once to abandon any further claim, declaring that he was much happier in having given satisfaction by his work, than he should have been in receiving the two hundred additional ducats for it."

When the repairs of the chapel were complete, Giovanni Tornabuoni fixed on the outer pilasters two great escutcheons in stone, bearing the arms of his own family and those of the Tornaquinci, with which it was allied. But the arms of the Ricci he only placed in a very small shield on the tabernacle of the Sacrament over the high altar. So that when the public were first admitted to the chapel the Ricci in vain sought for their armorial bearings, and loudly complained to the Council of Eight of the breach of contract, demanding immediate justice. However, they obtained no redress, as it was proved to them that their arms, being close to the most holy

Sacrament, occupied, according to the terms of the agreement, the most honourable place in the chapel. This anecdote is a curious illustration of the manners of the time, and of the estimation in which the arts were at that period held in Florence.

It may be gathered from what Vasari says, but his statements are not always entitled to much confidence, that Ghirlandaio adopted the same subjects, as had been previously painted by Orcagna—following that painter in their arrangement. The four divisions of the groined roof contain the four evangelists. On that part of the end wall behind the high altar not occupied by the great window, he painted figures of various saints, protectors of the city of Florence, events from the history of St. Dominic, and St. Peter Martyr, John the Baptist in the desert, the Annunciation, and, as he had done in the Sassetti Chapel, portraits of his patrons, Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. The side walls he covered with fourteen frescoes—seven on the right hand representing the history of the Virgin, and seven on the left representing the history of John the Baptist. It would be out of place to enter into a minute description of each of these very remarkable pictures. I trust the time will come when the Arundel Society will be able to obtain copies of them, and to make known and accessible, as it ought to be, this mine of artistic wealth. These frescoes show to a remarkable degree all the great qualities which Ghirlandaio possessed as a painter. In them he has displayed an infinite variety of resource, and a rich and poetic imagination, in which he is not even excelled by that most imaginative of painters, Benozzo Gozzoli, who is frequently apt to be extravagant and fantastic, and to overcrowd his compositions

—faults never committed by Ghirlandaio, who is always simple and dignified. The exquisite grace and beauty of his female figures—qualities in which his easel pictures are sometimes deficient —give an additional interest to these works. The "Visitation of St. Elizabeth" and the "Birth of the Virgin," two of the finest compositions in the series, may be cited as instances. He has, as usual, introduced into nearly every fresco the portraits of distinguished citizens and of men illustrious in his day.* Many of the heads are masterpieces of the most elevated portraiture. The drapery is disposed with that breadth and grandeur in the folds, yet with that perfect ease, which marks the best period of the Florentine school. The compositions are carefully studied, and the figures most skilfully, but naturally arranged. There is no violence, nor yet any tameness, in the action. The story is always simply, yet well and clearly told. In the background there is great variety, elegance, and richness of detail, chiefly architectural. The buildings are of the "renaissance" style, and are cleverly drawn in perspective. The landscapes which occur in a few of these frescoes are painted with his usual feeling for nature in her most poetic aspect. In execution these great works show the most complete mastery over the technical part of his art—bold resolute drawing, admirable

* Amongst them may be mentioned those of Marsilio Ficino, Poliziano, Cristofano Landino, and the celebrated Greek, Demetrius Chalcondylas (according to good authority, however, the portrait is that of Gentile de' Becchi, bishop of Arezzo, and not of Demetrius), his own portrait, those of his master Baldovinetti, his brother David, his brother-in-law and pupil Bastiano Mainardi, Ginevra de' Benci (a celebrated beauty of the day, but who had been already married for some years when the fresco was painted), and of many members of the Medici and of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci families. Old drawings, made at the time, and indicating the original of each portrait, still exist. One is in the possession of the Tornaquinci family (Le Monnier's edition of Vasari's Lives, vol. v. p. 76, note).

knowledge of effect, and an excellent colouring. Although they have been exposed to a long period of neglect and wilful injury, to damp, to the fumes of incense and the smoke of torches, and to the ladders, nails, and tawdry hangings used upon nearly every church festival; yet until recently they had preserved much of their original beauty and freshness. They have suffered more during the last two or three years than probably at any other period; but they are still noble monuments of the best period of Italian fresco painting.*

Although Ghirlandaio had acquired great skill in the use of tempera (he never, as far as I am aware, painted in oil), his altar-pieces and easel pictures are much inferior to his frescoes. He would seem to have paid little attention to this branch of his art,

* About three years ago the monks of the Convent of Sta. Maria Novella, having waxed rich, determined to restore their church. They set about the business after the usual fashion, and what with repainting many of the frescoes, restoring the architecture, destroying or removing some of the most interesting monuments, and selling others, they have done their best towards utterly spoiling one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in Italy. Fortunately, the hand of the restorer was stayed, partly I believe through a protest I made against these barbarous proceedings, before it had reached Ghirlandaio's frescoes, but not before it had hopelessly injured some of the finest by Filippino Lippi. But even Ghirlandaio's were left exposed to all the damp, dust, and dirt which would accumulate in an edifice undergoing almost complete internal reconstruction, and to such injuries as might befall them from poles, ladders and the various incidents of workmen's proceedings. They were only covered up with canvas in the month of November last (1860), when the interference of the Florentine Academy of Fine Arts, I believe, had shamed the monks into doing something to preserve these treasures. But they had already suffered very severely and irreparably. Such is the fate of some of the noblest legacies bequeathed to Italy by her great men! It is much to be feared that what with the suppression of the convents, decreed by the new government, and what with restoration and neglect, little will be left of these precious relics in a few years. A successful struggle for political regeneration is not, unfortunately, always favourable to the preservation of monuments of early art. The removal of the high altar in Sta. Maria Novella will, however, allow Ghirlandaio's frescoes to be better seen than formerly.

and to have executed few such works with his own hand. He never refused a commission, but ordered his apprentices and pupils to accept any work that might be brought to his shop, were it even to paint the hoops for women's baskets, declaring that if they would not undertake it, he would himself. This he did, not from any love of gain, but because he was unwilling that any one, however humble, should depart from his door dissatisfied.* If this statement be true, it would seem to prove that he left most of his shop business—the painting of easel pictures—to his scholars. His "tavole" frequently show elegance of design, richness and variety of composition, a very careful and conscientious execution of details, and that individuality of expression in the heads—generally portraits—which is so strikingly displayed in his frescoes. But the colouring is often dull, heavy, and leaden, sometimes raw and harsh. He is fond of violent contrasts in the flesh tints, using bright red too freely for this purpose. He improved, however, in this respect in his latest pictures, which are much richer and more harmonious in colour, approaching to those of his son Ridolfo. His earlier and later styles may thus be distinguished. The types he chooses for the Virgin, the Infant Christ, and angels, are generally wanting in elevation, beauty, and religious sentiment; and his representations of these sacred personages are consequently inferior to those of many of his contemporaries who were, in other respects, painters of less merit. But the saints he introduces into his pictures are generally of a higher character, and show his feeling for dignified yet individualised expression. The extremities of his figures—their hands and feet—are not always drawn with

* Vasari, Life of Ghirlandaio.

care and correctness. These various defects seem to show that whilst he made the designs for his pictures himself, he was in the habit of leaving their execution to others. This is not surprising, considering the large number of great and important works upon which he was occupied during the short period of ten years.

Whilst many pictures in public and private collections are attributed to him, genuine works by his hand are comparatively rare. Most of those which are authentic, and are of any importance, bear dates, like his frescoes, between 1480 and 1491. None are signed. The principal with which I am acquainted are the following :

In the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence an altar-piece, formerly in the Church of the Calza, greatly praised by Vasari as a perfect example of tempera painting. This picture was bought for the National Gallery, and having been seized by the late Grand Ducal Government, became the subject of an angry diplomatic correspondence.* It represents, according to the conventional

* In the last catalogue of the Uffizi Gallery, it is described as having been 'purchased' by the Tuscan government. It was in fact seized, and *not* paid for, in contravention of their own law—a very small annual sum being only promised to the owners. A true and genuine love of art, which sought to retain in Italy, by fair and just means, its best monuments, would be a very praiseworthy sentiment; but a mere petty jealousy of foreigners, which enacts or threatens laws prohibiting the exportation of all pictures and other works of art without special permission, whilst some of the finest paintings are allowed to decay and perish, deserves anything but commendation. The Italians should remember that, after all, they owe the preservation of many of their most valuable monuments of art to the liberality of enlightened strangers; that long before they appreciated the remains of those ancient works, which they had left to fall to decay, German, English, and French writers and travellers had understood their value, and had called public attention to them, and that much of the interest and sympathy now felt for Italy in her vital struggle may be attributed to the knowledge and admiration of her, founded

treatment of the early masters, the Virgin and Child enthroned amidst saints. The colours are raw and wanting in harmony; though this is partly owing, perhaps, to injudicious cleaning. The details are painted with great minuteness and care. The picture is not dated; judging from its execution, it appears to belong to about the same period as the fresco of "St. Jerome" in the Ognissanti (1480).

Also in the Uffizi, a large circular picture, representing the "Adoration of the Magi;" a rich composition, full of figures, some of much beauty. The colour is rather leaden and heavy. In the distance is a view of Venice with the grand canal, very minutely and skilfully painted, apparently showing that the painter had visited that city. Dated 1487.

A circular picture in the Pitti Palace, of smaller dimensions, similar in subject and nearly similar in the details, many of the figures being repeated; apparently painted about the same time.*

upon the evidence of the genius and greatness of her sons in former ages, displayed throughout the civilised world by works of art. It is scarcely creditable to their authors to see the constant repetition, in modern Italian books, of the stereotyped phrase that "Italy has been despoiled of such and such a picture by the Ultramontane barbarians;" nor can I admire the answer given by an Italian statesman to one who remonstrated against a law which prohibited the exportation of paintings—"We would rather that our pictures should rot upon the walls than that they should go to England." It is very doubtful how far the accumulation of ancient pictures in public galleries will contribute to the formation of truly great painters in Italy. The result has hitherto not been favourable to the development of genius. Italian artists have scarcely escaped becoming a mere race of copyists. No man, not being an Italian, can feel a greater love for Italy, a deeper interest in her prosperity, and a sincerer desire for her future greatness, than myself. It is in this spirit that I have made the above remarks.

* A third picture of the same character, painted for a member of the Tornabuoni family, and afterwards in the Palazzo Pandolfini, is said to be in England.

Two pictures in the gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence. A "Nativity," dated 1485, originally the altar-piece of the Sassetti Chapel, contains some fine characteristic heads—one amongst them the painter's portrait—but has defects of colour. It is remarkable for a very elaborate landscape background, treated in a somewhat conventional manner, the high lights being touched with gold—a practice often followed by Ghirlandaio in his easel pictures and even in his frescoes, as in the "St. Francis receiving the stigmata," in the Sassetti Chapel; although Vasari says that he was the first to abandon the use of gilding in painting, skilfully imitating the effects of gold by the simple means of colour. A second altar-piece, representing "The Virgin and Child between angels and saints," without date, but probably painted about the same time, with a "predella" of five small subjects very gracefully and delicately treated. The details are careful, and some of the heads fine, but there is a want of dignity and religious feeling in the Virgin, and the colour is leaden.

The large altar-piece of "The Adoration of the Magi," in the Church of the Esposti (or Foundling Hospital)—Ghirlandaio's most important work of this nature in Florence, dated 1488. It is very rich in figures, and contains many graceful and pleasing groups, and some fine portrait heads. In the background is a distant view of a city, the sea and a harbour with shipping, poetically conceived, but somewhat hard in treatment. The details are most conscientiously and minutely executed. The general tone of colour is more harmonious than that of most of his pictures; but the flesh tints, which are curiously hatched, are still too green and leaden; and the heads of the Virgin and Child, the types of which

are scarcely worthy of the subjects, are somewhat disfigured by ruddy cheeks.

An altar-piece in the Church of San Giusto, at Volterra, representing Christ in glory and saints beneath, judging by its colouring, of his later time.* It has been badly restored. A second picture, painted, according to Vasari, for the same church, has disappeared.

In the sacristy of the Church of San Martino at Lucca, an altar-piece, unfortunately much injured by a restorer.

An altar-piece painted for Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, still preserved in the town-hall of that city.

A picture in several compartments, painted about 1490, for the altar of the choir in Sta. Maria Novella. Part is now in the Pinacothek at Munich, and part in the Royal Gallery of Berlin. It was finished by his brothers David and Benedetto, to whom may probably be attributed the whole of one compartment—the "Resurrection of Christ," in the Berlin Collection. The grand individualised character of the heads, and the broad drapery in ample folds in those parts which are evidently by Ghirlandaio, as the panels with the single saints at Berlin, resemble his frescoes. The colour is also remarkably rich and harmonious, and furnishes an

* Vasari states that this picture was ordered by Lorenzo the Magnificent, when the convent was held 'in commendam' by his son Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., who was created a cardinal in 1488, and received holy orders four years later.

excellent example of his latest and best style.* The hands and feet are very carefully drawn. The centre subject, representing the Virgin in glory and the Archangel Gabriel, John the Baptist, St. Dominic, and John the Evangelist, is at Munich.

In the Louvre "The Visitation of the Virgin," commenced for the church of Cestello, and finished, according to Vasari, by his brothers David and Benedetto. The colouring is defective, but the figures are very graceful. Dated 1491, and consequently the latest authentic work by the master.

I know of no genuine work entirely by the hand of Ghirlandaio in England, although several pictures in private collections are attributed to him.† The beautiful picture of "The Virgin and Child between two angels," in the National Gallery, assigned to him, is undoubtedly by another and very different painter.‡

Ghirlandaio's drawings and sketches, of which many are preserved

* Other pictures in the Berlin Gallery are attributed to Ghirlandaio. A "Virgin and Child between saints" may be from a design by the master, but the execution and colour betray a scholar. The 'Pietà,' in the Pinacothek at Munich (No. 538), though assigned to him, is undoubtedly by Filippino Lippi.

† Dr. Waagen mentions two portraits, conjectured to be those of Maria Tornabuoni and her husband, in the collection of Mr. Drury Lowe, which may be by him.—(Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 498).

‡ It is difficult to determine who may have been the painter of this picture. It closely resembles in many respects, especially in the colour of the flesh and the peculiar character of the hands, a picture of three saints in the Uffizi, which is described by Vasari as having been painted by Antonio and Piero Pollaiolo, for the Church of San Miniato. That picture is, however, in oil. Some have attributed the National Gallery picture to Pesello or to Pesellino, of whom little is known. By the same hand are undoubtedly other works in public and private collections, as in Lord Ward's, Mr. Barker's, &c. In delicacy and refinement of colour, and in a peculiar beauty in the type of the Virgin and Angels, the painter, whoever he may have been, was perhaps superior to Ghirlandaio.

in the Uffizi and elsewhere, are marked by great vigour and decision of outline, and are usually on grey or bluish paper, and much relieved with white. They show a careful and conscientious study of nature and of detail, especially of drapery, which is marked by great breadth of folds admirably disposed. They correspond in these respects with his frescoes, some of the original sketches for which are to be seen in the Florentine Gallery.

The frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella appear to have been the last great work of painting undertaken by Ghirlandaio.* After he had finished them he seems to have devoted himself to mosaic, for which he had probably contracted a taste when with Alessio Baldovinetti, who was one of the most esteemed workers in this material of his day. Ghirlandaio was wont to say that mosaic, from its durability, was better adapted than any other material to the expression of the painter's ideas.† In 1490 he executed in it

* Other frescoes by Ghirlandaio mentioned by Vasari, and which have perished, or the dates of which are unknown, are: the front of the principal chapel of the Badia of Settimo, near Florence, no traces of which exist; a chapel in the villa of the Casso Macherelli, also near Florence, where some remains are still to be seen; on the arch over the high altar of the Duomo of Pisa, several graceful angels, recently restored, and consequently destroyed; another fresco at Pisa, on the façade of the "Opera," or Warden's office, of the Duomo, destroyed; a "St. George and the Dragon," in the Church of the Ognissanti, and a St. Michael in full armour, over the entrance to the cemetery of Sta. Maria Nuova, Florence, both destroyed; a hall in the Spannocchi Palace at Siena, with many subjects in tempera, of which no trace or record remains (it is very doubtful whether any such work was executed. An "Annunciation," over the entrance to the Church of Orbatello, dated 1485, is attributed to him by the last editors of Vasari's Lives; and a circular fresco in the Chapel of the Bargello, Florence, dated 1490, is also assigned to him, but doubtfully. Of several pictures described by Vasari, some have been lost, whilst others may still be preserved in private collections. Amongst the most important which have disappeared is one, originally at Pisa, representing St. Sebastian and St. Rocco, and bearing the arms of Leo X.

† "Usava dire Domenico la pittura essere il disegno, e la vera pittura per la eternità essere il musaico." Vasari, Vita del Ghirlandaio.

a lunette representing the "Annunciation," over one of the northern entrances to the Duomo of Florence,—the only authentic example remaining of his skill in this art. It is very graceful in design, and is distinguished by that beauty and minuteness of detail which characterise his paintings. According to Vasari, he had commenced the decoration, in the same material, of the Chapel of San Zanobi, in the Duomo, when he was induced by Lorenzo the Magnificent, who became his surety for 20,000 ducats, to complete the mosaics of the façade of the Duomo at Siena, and died whilst engaged in that undertaking. But this is an error on the part of Vasari. Documentary evidence proves that it was Domenico's brother David and not himself who was employed at Siena. It appears, from the archives of the cathedral of Orvieto, that in 1492, and in the following year, if not at a later period, he was engaged in repairing and renewing the mosaics which adorned the exterior of that splendid building.* We have no further record of the painter from that time to his death. Vasari places that event in 1495, but there is reason to infer that it occurred two or three years later, when Ghirlandaio was in the 46th or 47th year of his age.†

Ghirlandaio had received a commission in 1491 to paint a picture for the high altar of the Church of the Palco, near Prato, which he failed to execute, and which was consequently transferred to Filippino Lippi. In the same year he left the "Visitation," now in the

* Vasari's Lives, Le Monnier's edition, vol. v. p. 83, note. An entry of a payment of forty-two ducats to him occurs in the books of the cathedral under date of the 20th April, 1493.

† The last edition of Vasari gives 1498 as the date of his death, but it may have occurred a little earlier, perhaps in 1497. The declaration of the property left by him at his decease, made by his brother in 1498, does not prove that he actually died in that year.

Louvre, unfinished. His career as a painter seems therefore, as far as can be ascertained from authentic records, to have been limited to ten years—from 1480 to 1491, during which period he executed a larger number of great and important works than probably any other painter who ever lived, not even excepting his prolific contemporary, Benozzo Gozzoli.

He had many scholars. The most eminent was Michelangelo, who from him learned the first rudiments of his art,* and who, according to tradition, assisted him in the frescoes of Sta. Maria Novella. As he was born in 1475, and apprenticed to Ghirlandaio on the 1st of April, 1488, he was but a boy when those great works were painted. The firm and vigorous drawing of Ghirlandaio, and his dignified conception and rendering of character had no doubt their influence upon the youthful genius of the illustrious artist, but that genius was destined to create a new era in art, and to be the representative of a new order of ideas and sentiments. Whatever Michelangelo may have learnt from his first master—and he could not have remained long under him—there are certainly few, if any, traces of Ghirlandaio's influence in such of his early works as are known to us. He seems to have struck out a new path for himself, in the technical, as well as in the other branches of his art, almost before he had emerged from boyhood.†

* Condivi.

† The well-known unfinished picture, now in the possession of Lord Taunton, and generally believed to be an early work by Michelangelo, was at one time attributed to Ghirlandaio; this may show that there are *some* traces of Ghirlandaio's manner in it, but it certainly bears no resemblance to any of that master's works with which I am acquainted.

Those pupils who most closely followed in Ghirlandaio's footsteps were his brothers David and Benedetto, painters of no great merit, but whose works frequently pass for those of Domenico; his brother-in-law, Bastiano Mainardi of San Geminiano, who executed frescoes in his native town and in Florence (as in the Church of Santa Croce), very closely imitating the style of his master, but wanting his vigour and invention; his son Ridolfo, who, as a painter of easel pictures and altar-pieces, acquired great fame, and imitated his father in the strongly individualised and dignified character of his heads, but exceeded him in the richness and power of his colouring; and Francesco Granacci, who, with much grace of drawing and a refined feeling for colour, was deficient in originality of invention and in a dignified conception of character. To these Vasari adds Niccolò Cieco, Jacopo del Tedesco, Jacopo dell' Indaco, and Baldino Baldinelli, of whose works little or nothing is known.

Ghirlandaio would seem to have died in poverty, for according to Vasari the family of Tornabuoni, probably ashamed of the meanness of Giovanni in the matter of the Sta. Maria Novella frescoes, sent him one hundred ducats during his last illness. He was greatly deplored by the city of Florence as a distinguished and worthy citizen, and by his pupils as a kind and affectionate master. He was buried with much pomp in the public cemetery of the Church of Sta. Maria Novella. But his remains were afterwards removed by his son Ridolfo to a more honourable site in the outer cloisters, where they were deposited in a separate tomb amongst those of the most noble families of his native city. In the arched recess over his sarcophagus were placed his arms, consisting of an

armed horseman, and his portrait, which has long since perished. An epitaph, in the inflated style of Italian mortuary inscriptions, recorded his fame as a painter.*

Vasari's account of Ghirlandaio, and Vasari had known many of his contemporaries and pupils, conveys the impression that he was a gentle, honest, conscientious, and industrious man,—an impression fully borne out by the character of his works. As a painter in fresco he stands almost unrivalled in the technical part of his art. The rapidity and certainty of his execution were surprising. He was heard to declare, says his biographer, that he should rejoice if he had to paint with stories the whole circuit of the walls of Florence. The excellent preservation of such of his works as have not been exposed to wanton injury or neglect, was owing to his habit of finishing them "in buon fresco," or true fresco, on the wet surface, not using tempera for this purpose like many contemporary artists.† This practice requires great decision of execution—a ready hand to obey a clear intellect. His outline is firm, his forms graceful, and his composition skilful. The fertility of his imagination and his power of arrangement and combination are strikingly shown in his great series of frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella. He was so correct of eye that he would design the most difficult architectural perspective without rule,

* Fineschi, Memorie sopra il cimiterio antico della chiesa di S. Maria Novella. The epitaph was as follows:—

Troppo presto la morte
Troncò il volo alla fama che alle stelle.
Pensai, correndo forte,
Passar Zeusi e Parrasio, e Scopa, e Apelle.

† Vasari's Life of Ghirlandaio.

compass, or measure; and a drawing that he thus made of the Colosseum is said to have been so accurate, that it could be measured in all its parts by mere reference to a human figure which he had introduced as standing in the centre of the building.*

Although in his religious pictures he still adhered, to some extent, to the conventional mode of arrangement followed in the previous century, especially in the grouping of his figures and in the draperies of sacred personages; in his frescoes he abandoned it altogether, and sought to represent nature with the utmost truth — a distinction between easel pictures and wall-paintings not unfrequent amongst his comtemporaries and the great painters who immediately succeeded him. He avoided as much as possible all violence of action and contortion, all exaggeration and affectation of expression, giving a dignified, calm repose to the scene he represents, which might degenerate into monotony, were it not combined with great variety, and an elevation of character that cannot fail to impress and interest the spectator. In a just disposition of light and shade and in the perspective of colour, especially in his heads, he was much in advance of Masaccio, who had not succeeded in giving that entire and complete relief to his forms which in Ghirlandaio's best works, and still more in those of Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci Chapel, carry almost to the highest perfection the art of imitation. As a portrait painter he holds a very high rank. Whilst adhering to truth and nature, he always gives to his portraits the highest elevation and dignity of

* Vasari's Life of Ghirlandaio.

which his subject is susceptible. In this respect he is entitled to our admiration, and presents one of the best models for imitation in this most important branch of painting. He seldom attempted the nude, not having attained in it that proficiency which distinguishes the later painters of the Florentine School. Even the extremities—the hands and feet—of his figures, as I have already remarked, are not always correctly drawn. Lanzi says that he was the first amongst the Florentines, who, by the means of true perspective, arranged his compositions properly and gave them depth.*

Ghirlandaio may be entitled to the place which an eminent modern critic has assigned to him "amongst the greatest masters of his own or any other age."† Still he was undoubtedly inferior to Masaccio in original genius, and to Fra Angelico in that deep and fervent love of purity and holiness, which appeals to men's best feelings and their best sympathies. His merits as a painter consist in his having carried almost to the highest perfection of which it was capable that new school of painting which had been founded in the beginning of the fifteenth century by Masolino and Masaccio. He gave the best expression of which his art could then admit, to the best phase of the condition of society in which he lived. Florence had risen to the first place amongst the Italian states in material prosperity, and in the power based upon great commercial activity and riches, when Ghirlandaio began to paint. Her wealth, her vast trade, the luxury of her citizens, were

* Storia Pittorica, vol. i. p. 73.

† Kugler, Schools of Painting in Italy, vol. i. p. 207. Vasari calls him "uno de' principali e piu eccellenti maestri dell' etá sua."

gradually leading her to forget the most precious heritage of a people—their liberties. Lorenzo the Magnificent, whilst contributing to her splendour at home and her power and influence abroad, was fast undermining her free institutions, to which she owed her real greatness. Yet there were still living in Florence great and good men who had watched the growth of her freedom, and were ready to make any sacrifice in its defence. The conspiracy of the Pazzi, planned after the barbarous fashion of the times, but directed against the usurpation and tyranny of the Medici, had but recently failed. But the childlike religion and political enthusiasm which had distinguished the fourteenth century, and which inspired the verse of Dante and the pencil of Giotto, had passed away. The imaginative and superstitious spirit which characterised that century was everywhere yielding to one more rational and matter-of-fact, founded upon a deeper study of the writings of the ancient philosophers, a better acquaintance with the laws of nature, and a more extended intercourse between nations. In this new age men displayed a sense of their dignity by polished manners, by richness of costume, by costly living, by magnificent ceremonies, and by the foundation of splendid monuments and a munificent patronage of the arts, not for great national or religious purposes as in the previous century, but for the fame or aggrandisement of themselves and of their families.* These are the leading characteristics of this period of Florentine history. They are precisely those which find their best exponent, in painting, in Ghirlandaio. In his frescoes we have that mixture of reality and truth with the supernatural, in the treatment of religious

* We have an illustration of this in the quarrel about the coats of arms between the Tornabuoni and Ricci, when the choir of Sta. Maria Novella was painted.

incidents, which serves to show their divine nature, and yet to give them the appearance of actual events of the day. The portrait-like character both of the actors in these scenes, and of those who are introduced into them as spectators, contribute still more to produce this effect. Even in his altar-pieces, or what are termed "devotional" pictures, that deep religious feeling which gives almost an unearthly appearance to the representations, by the early painters, of the Virgin, of the Saviour, of angels, and other sacred personages, is replaced by a worldly and common-place character, which sometimes almost verges on coarseness. By their rich costume, by the calm dignity of their expression and attitude, and by the grave and solemn part they appear to play in the scene depicted, he admirably portrays the great men of his day, to whom he thus dedicates a worthy monument—the last protest, as it were, against the ambition of the Medici, who extinguished, with their country's liberties, those noble and generous qualities which, with all his faults and his vices, distinguished the citizen of free Florence.

To those who would study the history of art in a philosophical spirit, the interest and importance of Ghirlandaio's works rest upon the view that may be thus taken of them, as well as upon their real beauties and the influence they exercised over the Florentine school of painting; that school which numbered amongst his contemporaries the Pollaioli, Sandro Botticelli, Andrea Verrocchio, Filippino Lippi, and Luca Signorelli; which produced Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Fra Bartolomeo, and Andrea del Sarto, and formed the maturer style of Pietro Perugino, Pinturicchio, and the immortal Raphael himself; a school which in its highest

development in Ghirlandaio's time held the grand and just middle place between the conventional and the academic in art—the high land, as it were, between the rise of the fourteenth century and the fall of the sixteenth.

A. H. LAYARD.

THE END.

HANS MEMLINC;

A NOTICE OF

His Life and Works.

BY W. H. JAMES WEALE.

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HANS MEMLINC;

A NOTICE OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

OF all the old Flemish towns there is none more picturesque or more interesting than Bruges. Owing, no doubt, to the decay of its wealth and prosperity, it has retained far more of the architectural features of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than its ancient and more prosperous rival, Ghent. Yet these remains offer but a faint idea of the splendour of this once important mercantile city, long the entrepôt of the Hanse-Towns, and the market to which merchants resorted from all parts of the world to sell and exchange their goods. Several of its most important public buildings have disappeared, and all the palaces of its merchant princes and nobles, save those of the Gruuthuuse and Portinari families. The former for two centuries past has served as a Mont de Piété; the latter is now a convent.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the town offered a far different aspect; its squares were adorned with fountains; its bridges with statues in bronze; the public buildings and many of the private houses with statuary and carved work, the beauty of which was heightened and brought out by gilding and polychrome; the windows were rich with storied

glass, and the walls of the interiors adorned with paintings in distemper, or hung with gorgeous tapestry. If but little of all this now remains, it must be borne in mind that during the past three centuries Bruges has seen its works of art exported by Spaniards, destroyed (when not sold) by Calvinist iconoclasts and French revolutionists, and carried off by picture and curiosity dealers of all nations. Vaernewyck* attests that in his time the houses of Bruges were filled with paintings by Memlinc;† these are now scattered throughout the world, and Bruges has only preserved seven works that can be attributed with certainty to that great master.

It is a curious fact that during the whole of the fifteenth century Bruges does not appear to have produced a single artist of any note. The archives reveal a series of painters coming principally from the county of Looz (the real cradle of Netherlandish art), from Holland, and from Cologne and the Lower Rhine. John van Eyck, Peter Cristus, Hugo van der Goes, Gerard David, and Peter Pourbus, were all, like Memlinc, strangers attracted to Bruges doubtless by the wealth of its inhabitants, and the facilities afforded for a ready sale of works of art.

* "*Nieuw Tractaet*" et "*Historie van Belgis*," fol. 132 v°. Ghendt, 1574.

† The final C has in the present Notice been employed in the place of the more usual G in Memlinc's name, on the authority of contemporary evidence. Out of forty-nine documents discovered by the writer in the Archives of Bruges, thirty-two give the termination INC, fifteen YNC; one has YNCGHE, and one YNGHE; but none have ING, which, indeed, is a termination never found in Flemish or Dutch names of the fifteenth century. The inscriptions on the frames of the two triptychs at Saint John's Hospital, Bruges, where the name is spelt with a G, are both unquestionably of a later period.

The date and the place of Memlinc's birth are alike uncertain. He may have derived his name either from the village of Mümling, or Memling, situated on a river of the same name, a few miles from Aschaffenburg, in Germany, or from the village of Memelynck, in Holland. He was settled at Bruges certainly in 1478, and probably in 1471, if not still earlier. In May, 1480, he was in possession of three houses roofed with tiles, and a piece of ground in the street named *over de Vlaminc brugghe*, now *Sint Jooris straet.* These houses have been rebuilt within the last three years. In the town accounts of the year 1480, Hans Memlinc's name appears amongst those of the 247 principal burgesses of Bruges, who advanced money to the city towards carrying on the war between Maximilian and France.

Memlinc was married, but the Christian name of his wife, Anne, is all that is known of her, though she probably belonged to the Valckenaere family. She bore him three children—John, Cornelia, or Petronilla (*Nielkin*), and Nicolas. She died before the 10th of September, 1487. Memlinc himself, as the orphan-registers of the town prove, died between the 1st of June, 1492, and the 10th of December, 1495; at this latter date his children were yet in their minority—that is, according to the legislation then in force, under twenty-five years of age.

No certain information has as yet been obtained of Memlinc's artistic education. He is said by Vasari* to have

* "*Opere*," tom. v., "*Di diversi artefici Fiamminghi*," p. 289. Firenze, 1823.

been the pupil of Roger de la Pasture, the celebrated painter of Tournay, who left his native town to settle at Brussels, and is better known by the Flemish rendering of his name, van der Weyden. The catalogue of the collection of pictures belonging to Margaret of Austria, formerly at Mechlin, mentions a triptych, the centre of which was by Roger and the wings by Master Hans.* It is assumed from this that Memlinc worked conjointly with his master, but doors were frequently added to paintings long after their execution.

The names of two of Memlinc's pupils are known: Hannekin Verhanneman, son of Nicolas, and Passcier van der Meersch, son of Passcier, who became his pupils, the one on the 8th of May, 1480, the other in 1483. Hans Verhanneman was already married when he entered Memlinc's atelier.†

If we compare the works of Memlinc with those of the other great painters of the Flemish schools of the fifteenth century, we shall find that, though inferior to the van Eycks in colour, in power of *chiaro'scuro*, and in portraiture,—to Roger de la Pasture (van der Weyden) in force of expression and

* De Laborde, "*Inventaire des tableaux de Marguerite d'Autriche,*" p. 24. Paris, 1850.

† The statements in this and the preceding paragraphs are based upon authentic documents discovered by the writer of the present Notice in the archives of Bruges. Some of these have already appeared in the "Journal des Beaux Arts" (vol. iii., Brussels, 1861); others will shortly be published in the "Beffroi" (Barthes and Lowell, London), a Review specially devoted to elucidating the history of early Flemish art. No notice has been taken here of the popular legend as to Memlinc's having been admitted into the Hospital of Saint John at Bruges, in the character of a sick soldier, after the battle of

dramatic arrangement,—and to Thierry Bouts (misnamed Stuerbout) and Gerard David in beauty and finish of landscape, he is eminently superior to them all in religious sentiment and in delicacy of delineation. John van Eyck's Madonnas are always worldly, often repulsive (as, for instance, in the altar-piece at the Academy of Bruges), Roger's simply affectionate and maternal, while Memlinc's, by their exquisite purity, tenderness, dignity, and mild intellectual majesty, alone realize the character of the Mother of our Lord as revealed to us in the Gospel; indeed, we know no painter of any school who surpasses him in this respect. The Infant Christ, to whom John van Eyck always imparted a disagreeable look of old age, and Roger a thin and ungraceful form, has in Memlinc's pictures a nobler and happier cast of countenance, with an intelligent forehead and fine eyes —inferior, however, even in the altar-piece at Saint John's Hospital, to the type conceived by Gerard David. Hubert van Eyck's Saints, both male and female, are pensive and austere; John's, mere reproductions of the model, who is seldom well chosen; while Roger's, though varied in expression, are rarely noble, and often, when he sought to express excessive grief or joy, unnatural by their exaggerated action. Bouts' Saints are rigid and deficient in expression, Gerard David's graceful and

Nancy, a legend which was first published by Descamps in 1753. The writer has, however, seen, in a manuscript of the seventeenth century, a statement to the effect that Memlinc painted one of his pictures out of gratitude for the services rendered to him by the brethren of the Hospital. It must be borne in mind that the Superior of that establishment in the fifteenth century was a person of considerable influence, and the statement of the manuscript by no means implies that Memlinc was ever at the Hospital as one of its sick inmates. This amplification of the tradition is doubtless due to the fertile imagination of the French author, and appears to be wholly unworthy of credit.

poetical, but often untrue to their character. Memlinc was more ideal than the van Eycks, and more skilful in contrasting expressions than his contemporaries. He appears also to have studied attentively and meditated deeply both Scripture and the lives of the Saints, for the expression of his personages is in all cases true to history. Adherence to truth and delicate sweetness of sentiment are indeed his characteristic features. His pictures are full of tender poetical feeling. Some of his earlier productions are too symmetrical in their arrangement, others rather overcrowded. His later works, however, are free from these faults, which are scarcely ever obtrusive. Where Memlinc failed was in the representation of such figures as the impenitent thief on the cross, and the executioners of his Saints; the delineation of these was evidently repugnant to his character. As a portrait painter he is decidedly inferior to John van Eyck, whose picture of John Arnolfini and his wife in the National Gallery is, without comparison, the masterpiece of its class of the Netherlandish school. Memlinc's portraits of William Moreel and his wife, in the Museum at Brussels, of the same persons and their eldest son on the wings of the triptych in the Academy of Bruges, and of Martin van Nieuwenhove in the Hospital of Saint John, however, nearly approach perfection.

The method of colour employed by Memlinc appears to have been peculiar to himself. His contemporaries employed much *impasto*, but he, though he worked in oil, adhered to and applied the earlier traditions of the tempera painters. His use of vehicle was always sparing, and the drawing is often visible

beneath his colour. The tints he employed were light and clear. To attain the required degree of vigour and relief, he made use of coloured glazes successively applied; a process which required the nicest calculation, and which also renders it extremely dangerous to clean his pictures, many of which, by the removal of these glazes, have become thin, pale, and flat.

The earliest works that can be attributed with certainty to Memlinc are now in England. The first of these is a small round-headed diptych* belonging to the Rev. John Fuller Russell, Greenhithe, Kent, representing on one leaf the Crucifixion, a rich composition of miniature-like delicacy; on the other, Joan, youngest daughter of Charles VII. of France, and of Mary of Anjou, kneeling at a prayer-desk, and accompanied by Saint John the Baptist. Born in 1426, this princess was married, 22nd December, 1446, to John II., Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France. She died 4th May, 1482. The diptych was executed between these two last dates, probably about 1460. In the sky are seen the Eternal Father symbolized as the Ancient of Days (Daniel vii. 9), the Holy Ghost under the form of a dove, and the Blessed Virgin seated on a fald-stool, with the crescent moon beneath her feet, and holding on her knees the Infant Christ, who raises His tiny hand to bless the kneeling princess, close to whom is an angel sustaining a shield emblazoned with the arms of Bourbon impaling those of France.

A triptych in the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick,

* Oak. H., 13⅜ inches; B., 8¾ inches.

probably painted in 1471, is one of Memlinc's finest works.* In the centre, seated on a brass fald-stool, beneath a canopy, and with a rich cloth of honour behind her, is the Blessed Virgin. She sustains with her right hand the Infant Christ, seated on her knees, and in her left holds the Book of Wisdom open. Our Lord has been turning over the leaves, on which His left hand still rests, though He is looking away and stretching out His right hand to an angel, who offers Him an apple and holds a violin and bow in his left. Another angel, on the left of the Madonna, is playing on a portable organ. On the right of the throne Saint Catherine, and on the left Saint Barbara, present the donors, Sir John Donne and his wife Elizabeth, third and youngest daughter of Sir Leonard de Hastings by his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas Lord Camoys. Both these personages wear the badge of Edward IV., the collar of roses and suns, to the clasp of which is appended the white lion of the house of Marche.† Behind the lady kneels a little girl. These figures are represented in a cloister, the carved capitals of which are adorned with shields bearing—*azure*, a wolf salient *argent*, langued *gules*, Donne; and—parted

* H. 28 inches; B. centre, 27⅝ inches; wings, 11⅞ inches. The three panels are now united, and form one picture.

† Notwithstanding this decoration, and the emblazoned shields on the capitals, Horace Walpole ("Anecdotes of Painting in England," vol. i., p. 50, Note ‡. London, 1828), Crowe and Cavalcaselle ("Early Flemish Painters," p. 257. London, 1857), and Waagen ("Handbook of Painting," part i., p. 100. London, 1860), speak of these donors as *Lord and Lady Clifford*, who were Lancastrians. I have presumed this triptych to have been painted in 1471, during which year Edward IV. and many of his adherents were at Bruges. It is quite possible, however, that it may be of rather later date. It would be extremely interesting to clear up all doubt on this point. The dates of Sir John Donne's marriage, and of his daughter's birth, would suffice to set the matter at rest.

per pale, 1st Donne, 2nd *argent*, a maunch *sable*, Hastings. The wings represent Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist. The background, painted with great care and wonderful finish, is formed by a most beautiful undulating landscape; on the right is a river with swans and a water-mill; the miller with a sack of corn on his back is about to enter his house, close behind him an ass; a man is crossing a bridge, at one end of which is a tower; further on are a man on horseback, a cow, and a round tower; on the left are a river, a meadow with a bull, and a man in red, on a white horse, about to enter a wood.*

The large altar-piece† painted for the brethren and sisters of Saint John's Hospital, at Bruges, represents the Madonna seated in an open gallery or cloister on a metal fald-stool, with a rich cloth of honour suspended behind her. Two graceful angels hold a crown over her head. On the right is seated Saint Catherine, on whose finger the Infant Christ, bending forward, places the bridal ring. Behind her an angel, in alb and tunic, is playing on a portable organ ; his countenance has a bird-like softness, which is most beautiful. Beyond stands Saint John the Baptist, with his lamb beside him. On the left

* This same landscape, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*op. cit.*, p. 257), adorns Memlinc's painting of the Madonna in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. It also forms the background of a portrait in the van Ertborn collection at Antwerp (N° 22, H. 11½ inches, B. 8¼ inches), ascribed by the catalogue to Antonello of Messina.

† Wood. H. 5 feet 7½ inches; B. centre, 5 feet 7½ inches; wings, 2 feet 7¼ inches. The signature, OPVS.IOHANNIS.HEMLING.ANNO.M CCCC.LXXIX. 1479, has been retouched. This triptych has suffered much from over-cleaning and restoration.

of the Madonna kneels an angel holding the Book of Wisdom, of which she is about to turn over a leaf. Beyond stands Saint John the Evangelist, youthful, mild, and pensive. In the foreground is seated Saint Barbara, reading attentively; behind her, the emblematic tower. The carved capitals of the pillars on the right represent the vision of Zacharias, and the birth and naming of the Baptist. Between these pillars is seen a landscape background continued on the right wing. In this landscape are represented:—the Baptist praying in a solitary forest; preaching on a rocky hill to a group of seven persons, a beautiful composition; pointing out our Lord to his listeners; baptizing Him; pointing Him out to Andrew and another of his disciples; and being led to prison. The Decollation of Saint John, with its attendant scenes, occupies the foreground of the right wing, while the burning of his body at Sebaste, by order of Julian the Apostate, in the background, near the centre, closes the series of scenes from his legend. On the left of the centre panel is seen brother John Floreins, bursar of the hospital, who again appears between the pillars, superintending the gauging of wine beside the town crane in the *Vlamine straet*, with the little Romanesque Church of Saint John in the distance. The landscape background offers the following scenes from the life of the Beloved Disciple: his immersion in the cauldron of boiling oil; his being led to a boat in which is a soldier waiting to transport him to the Isle of Patmos; his baptizing, in a church, the philosopher Crato, behind whom kneel his wife and two disciples. The carved capitals of the pillars on this side represent the resurrection of Drusiana, and Saint John drinking, unharmed, the poisoned cup which proves fatal to the priests of

Diana. The left wing represents Saint John seated in the Isle of Patmos, contemplating the Apocalyptic vision, a composition of wonderful accuracy and taste. On the exterior of the wings are seen kneeling, accompanied by their patron saints, Anthony Zeghers, master, James de Kueninc, bursar, Agnes Casembrood, superioress, and Clara van Hulsen, sister of the hospital. "In this great work," says a late regretted author, "there is a unity and harmony of design which blends the whole into an impressive poem. The object was to do honour to the patrons of the hospital, the two Saint Johns, and, at the same time, to express the piety of the charitable (brethren and) sisters, who, like Saint Catherine, were consecrated and espoused to Christ, and, like Saint Barbara, were dedicated to active good works."* The expression of the principal figures in this triptych is admirable, while the little groups are of exquisite finish and beauty. The colouring, though thin, is wonderfully soft and harmonious.

In the gallery at Munich is another fine altar-piece† of Memlinc's, given, in the spring of 1480, by Peter Bultync, merchant tanner, to the Corporation of Tanners of Bruges, in whose chapel, at the Church of Nôtre Dame, it remained until the year 1764, when it was removed and the window above blocked up to make way for a new altar in the bad taste of the day. This picture is improperly named the "Seven Joys of

* Jameson, "Legends of the Madonna," p. 97. London, 1852.

† Catalogue, n° 63, cab. iv. H., 2′ 6″; B., 6′. An engraving of this picture is prefixed to the first volume of Dr. Waagen's "Handbook of Painting."

the Blessed Virgin."* It should rather be called "The Light of the World." The choice of the subjects represented is curious, and was evidently dictated by the fact that this picture was painted for the altar of the Lady-Chapel at the eastern extremity of the apse ; all have reference to a manifestation of light either to the whole world or to particular persons or people. The Adoration of the Magi, the great manifestation of Christ to the Gentile world, fitly occupies the centre of the foreground, and is remarkable for the richness of its composition and the varied expression of the numerous figures. The other subjects are:—the Annunciation; the Nativity—(outside the stable in a courtyard are the donor and his son Adrian kneeling, contemplating the Infant Jesus through a grated window); the Angels announcing the Saviour's birth to the Shepherds; the Star appearing to the Magi, each in his own country; the Miracles by which our Lord manifested His presence in Egypt ; the Resurrection; Christ appearing to His Mother; to Saint Mary Magdalene; to the Disciples at Emmaus; and at the Sea of Tiberias; the Ascension; the Descent of the Holy Ghost—(outside the chamber kneels Catherine van Riebeke, wife of the donor); the Death of the Blessed Virgin, and the Assumption. These form, each by itself, a perfect little picture of exquisite finish ; but, to persons who are not accustomed to the early masters, the altar-piece, as a whole, appears over-

* These are: 1, the Annunciation; 2, the Visitation ; 3, the Nativity; 4, the Adoration of the Magi; 5, the Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple; 6, the Risen Saviour appearing to His Mother; and 7, the Assumption. The second and fifth of these Joys are not represented in the picture. Dr. Waagen oddly enough calls this altar-piece "The Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin."

crowded. Close by the donors are shields with their armorial bearings.

The triptych* so admirably reproduced by Mr. Schultz's chromo-lithograph is Memlinc's masterpiece, as far as colour is concerned. None of his works are more vigorous in *chiaro'scuro*, none more harmonious in tone. The figure kneeling on the right is the donor, John Floreins, aged thirty-six, with his brother behind him. The man with the long beard and orange cap, looking in on the left, is said to be the portrait of Memlinc; but there is not the slightest proof of this assertion. Compared with Roger de la Pasture's Adoration of the Magi, at Munich,† this picture is far sweeter and more delicate; the kings are less grand and majestic, but their countenances are more expressive of devotion. Memlinc has also avoided the blunder committed by Roger in suspending a crucifix in the stable. The compositions which adorn the wings are in exquisite taste; while the type of Saint Veronica on the exterior has never been surpassed.

The portraits of William Moreel, Burgomaster of Bruges, of Barbara de Vlaenderberch, or van Hertsvelde, his wife, and their daughter Mary, formerly in the Hospice of Saint Julian, at Bruges, were painted before or in 1480. The first two are now in the Museum at Brussels,‡ the last, known as the Sibyl Sambetha, in Saint John's Hospital.§

* Oak. H., 18⅛ inches; exterior of wings, 18⅞ inches; B. centre, 22½ inches; wings, 9⅞ inches.

† Catalogue, n° 35, cab. III. H., 4′; B., 4′ 10″. Engraved in Waagen, "Handbook of Painting," vol. i., p. 89.

‡ Catalogue, n°s 21 and 22. Oak. H., 14½ inches; B., 10⅜ inches.

§ Oak. H., 14½ inches; B., 10⅜ inches. 1480.

The altar-piece painted for the chantry-chapel of the Moreel family in the Church of Saint James, at Bruges, in 1484,* is in every respect one of Memlinc's finest compositions. In the centre is seen Saint Christopher bearing the Infant Christ on his shoulder across a river. He supports himself with the trunk of a young tree, and is looking up with an expression of wonder, as if seeking an explanation of the incomprehensible burthen which is weighing him down. The Holy Child smiles on him and blesses him. A hermit in a grotto on the rocky bank holds up a lighted lantern. On the right stands Saint Maurus, reading attentively, on the left, Saint Giles, caressing his favourite fawn. The head of the former, and the head and left hand of the latter, are admirably modelled and painted. On the wings are the burgomaster Moreel, his wife and sixteen children, kneeling, protected by Saint William and Saint Barbara. This picture has unfortunately suffered both from time and at the hand of unskilful restorers, who have, by the removal of the coloured glazes, rendered the tone cold. The figures, in grisaille, of Saint John the Baptist and Saint George, on the exterior, were probably painted by a pupil or imitator of Memlinc about 1504.†

The diptych painted in 1487 for Martin van Nieuwenhove, now in Saint John's Hospital, at Bruges,‡ is, as already observed, a remarkable example of Memlinc's skill in portraiture. The

* Wood. H., 4 feet; B. centre, 5 feet; wings, 2 feet 3 inches.

† For a full account of the Moreel family, and of these paintings, see "Le Beffroi," tom. ii., p. 179-196.

‡ Oak. H., 13 inches; B., 17⅜ inches. Inscribed—HOC·OPVS·FIERI·FECIT·MARTINVS·DE·NEWENHOVEN·ANNO·DM·1487·ANo·VERO·ETATIS·SVE·23·

right panel is occupied by a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin holding the Infant Saviour, who is stretching out His hand for the apple she offers Him. On the left panel is the donor, his hands joined in prayer, with an open book before him. Through the windows, the upper portions of which are filled with stained glass representing the charity of Saint Martin, and the armorial bearings of the donor, is seen a beautiful landscape painted with exquisite finish. A circular mirror reflects the figures of the Madonna and donor; the representation of this and other details of furniture falls short in execution of those in the van Eyck at the National Gallery.

Another fine portrait of a man praying, also dated 1487, is preserved in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.*

The celebrated wooden shrine of Saint Ursula at Saint John's Hospital, Bruges,† is adorned with a series of miniatures by Memlinc, terminated before the 24th of October, 1489, on which day the Bishop of Tournay placed therein some relics of Saint Ursula and other Saints, translated from an old shrine, also of painted wood.‡ The six panels which adorn the sides of the shrine represent the following scenes from the legend of Saint Ursula and her companions:—1. Their arrival at Cologne—in the background, an angel announcing to Saint Ursula her future

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "The Early Flemish Painters," p. 262.

† Oak. H., 2 feet 10 inches; L., 3 feet; B., 13 inches.

‡ A shrine of this class, adorned with paintings executed at Liege in 1292, and representing scenes from the legend of Saint Odilia, one of Saint Ursula's principal companions, is engraved and described in the "Beffroi," vol. ii., pp. 31-37.

martyrdom; the principal buildings of Cologne, painted with great fidelity, are easily recognised. 2. Their landing at Basle; in the background, the Alps, with the pilgrim-virgins ascending them. 3. Their arrival in Rome, and reception by the sovereign-pontiff; in the background, Saint Ursula receiving Holy Communion from the Pope, while some of her companions are being baptized and others shriven. This composition is the finest of the series; the colouring is exquisitely harmonious, and the grouping admirable. 4. In the background, the return towards the Alps, and in the foreground, the arrival at Basle and re-embarkation on the Rhine. 5. The arrival at Cologne, and massacre of the virgins. 6. The martyrdom of Saint Ursula in the camp of the Emperor Maximilian; the polished steel armour of the soldiers is painted with wonderful accuracy. The end panels represent:—the Blessed Virgin and Child, at whose feet kneel two nuns; and Saint Ursula protecting ten of her companions under her outspread mantle. The roof is adorned on each side by a large medallion placed between two smaller ones; in the larger is Saint Ursula, surrounded by her companions, and receiving the crown of martyrdom from the Eternal Trinity; in the smaller, angels with musical instruments.

Having now described those pictures to which a date can with probability be assigned, we will proceed to notice some others of which the chronology is less certain. In the National Gallery is a beautiful panel* representing the Blessed Virgin

* Catalogue, n° 686. Wood. H., 21¼ inches; B., 14¾ inches. See "Notice sur la Collection de M. J. P. Weyer," pp. 36 to 38. Barthes and Lowell, London, 1863.

seated in a cloister beneath a canopy, holding the Infant Christ on her lap; on the right, an angel kneeling, playing on a mandoline; on the left, the donor kneeling, with Saint George standing behind him; in the background, a garden, and beyond it a landscape, with water and a castle.

Three miniatures in the possession of M. C. Ruhl, Witsch Gasse, Cologne, representing the Mass of Saint Gregory, Saint Michael, clad in polished steel armour and red mantle, holding the balance of justice, and Saint Jerome, are most exquisite gem-like pictures, beautifully preserved.*

In the Museum at Turin is a fine picture, similar in arrangement to the "Light of the World," at Munich; it represents the Passion of our Lord, with the donors kneeling at each side, in the foreground.

A triptych in Saint John's Hospital, at Bruges,† painted for Adrian Reins, represents the Deposition of our Saviour, with the sepulchre in the background. On the wings are the donor, kneeling, with Saint Adrian, Saint Barbara, Saint Wilgefortis, and Saint Mary of Egypt.

A large votive picture, in the possession of Count Duchatel, at Paris, represents the Blessed Virgin, enthroned beneath a canopy, holding the Infant Christ; on either side, Saint James

* Oak. H., 5⅞ inches; B., 3½ inches.

† Oak. H., 17⅜ inches; B. centre, 14 inches; wings, 5½ inches. Painted between 1478 and 1489.

the Great and Saint Dominic, and the donor with his wife and family, kneeling. The architectural background is admirably treated. The picture has, however, suffered from over-cleaning.

Two pictures in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, representing the Blessed Virgin and Child, and Saint Benedict; and another in the Strasburg Gallery, representing the Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine, are probably authentic works of Memlinc's. The writer has not, however, had occasion to examine either these or the altar-piece with double wings at Lubeck, dated 1491, and attributed by Dr. Waagen to Memlinc.*

In the Louvre, at Paris, are two small panels, representing Saint John the Baptist and Saint Mary Magdalene, with scenes from their lives in the background. In the possession of Mr. Gatteaux, also at Paris, is an exquisite picture representing the Blessed Virgin and Child surrounded by female Saints. These works are generally attributed to Memlinc; but their authenticity is not free from doubt.

The large picture in the *Première Chambre de la Cour Impériale* of the *Palais de Justice* at Paris, and the miniatures in the Grimani Breviary at Venice, also ascribed to Memlinc, are really not by him.† The latter, in the writer's opinion, are by Gerard David, the author of the Baptism of Christ, in the

* "Handbook of Painting," vol. i., pp. 105 and 106.

† See "Le Beffroi," vol. ii., pp. 213, 214, and 232.

Academy of Bruges, and of the votive altar-piece formerly in the Conventual Church of the Carmelites of Sion, at Bruges, now in the Gallery at Rouen.*

The large triptych at Dantzic, representing the Last Judgement, with the Blessed Virgin and Child, Saint Michael, and the donors kneeling on the exterior, attributed by Dr. Waagen to Memlinc, is probably a work of Hugo van der Goes.†

* See "Le Beffroi," vol. i., pp. 223-234, 276-289, 321 and 322; and vol. ii., pp. 287-300.

† See a notice by M. C. Ruelens in the Appendix to Crowe et Cavalcaselle, "Les Anciens Peintres Flamands," vol. ii., pp. xcvii-civ. Bruxelles, 1863.

THE END.

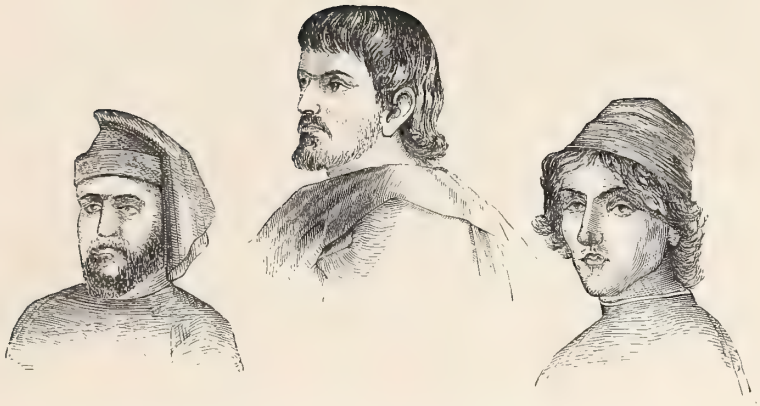
THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL

AND

Masolino, Masaccio, and Filippino Lippi.

BY

A. H. LAYARD, M.P.



HEADS OF MASOLINO, MASACCIO, AND FILIPPINO LIPPI.

ON the walls of a chapel to the right of the high altar in the Church of S. Maria del Carmine at Florence, is preserved a series of frescoes, which exceed in interest and importance all other works of the same class existing in this city, so rich in similar monuments of art. The chapel was built in the early part of the fifteenth century, by Felice Michele di Piuvichese Brancacci, a noble Florentine, who had distinguished himself in the service of the republic. Its decoration was not, however, completed until about eighty years later. The smoke of candles and of incense has combined, with the dust and decay of centuries, to darken the surface of the walls, and to dull the colours of the frescoes. It is only in the middle of a bright summer's day that some of the paintings can be seen in all their details. Those that surround the

solitary and half-closed window which lights the chapel are rarely, at any time, more than just visible through the gloom.

The importance of these frescoes arises from the fact that they hold the same place in the history of art during the fifteenth century, as the works of Giotto, in the Arena Chapel at Padua, hold during the fourteenth. Each series forms an epoch in painting from which may be dated one of those great and sudden onward steps, which have, in various ages and countries, marked the development of art. The history of Italian painting is divided into three distinct and well-defined periods by the Arena and Brancacci chapels, and the frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael in the Vatican.

If, moreover, as Vasari states—and his statement can be tested and verified—all the great painters of the Tuscan and Umbrian schools of the end of the fifteenth and of the whole of the sixteenth century—including Fra Angelico, the two Lippis, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolomeo, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Andrea del Sarto, studied the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, and to a certain extent formed their style upon them; the influence of those remarkable works reached far beyond the century in which they were painted. It may, indeed, be said that it has not even now passed away.

When we consider the condition of painting during the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, the influence

exercised by these frescoes, and the admiration felt for them by the great masters, will cause us no surprise. The progress made by Giotto had been truly wonderful. However superior the works of Cimabue may have been to those of a race of ignorant painters, who, since the fall of the Roman Empire, were to be found in almost every city and town of Italy, covering the walls of churches and other sacred buildings with hideous effigies of virgins and saints, they are wanting in those qualities which mark a new birth in art. This artist, to whom Vasari, in his zeal for the reputation of the school of his native province, would attribute the revival of painting, was but the best of that long line of painters, who had followed each other in monotonous succession, and in whom rapidly faded away the influence of Roman art, leaving only a trace of its traditional forms in their grotesque conceptions. Not that such of the authentic works of Cimabue as have been preserved are deficient in a certain feeling for nature and a striving after grace in form and sentiment in expression. These qualities, which alone would distinguish him from the painters who preceded him, are to a certain extent visible in his celebrated altar-piece in the Rucellai Chapel of the Church of S. Maria Novella at Florence, the first exhibition of which, according to an apocryphal story related by Vasari, caused so great a manifestation of joy and surprise amongst the inhabitants of his native city. There is a peculiar sentiment and grace in the expression of the Virgin, and in the Angels supporting her throne, which it is very difficult to separate from the stiff and archaic character of the figures; and which, consequently, such copies of the picture that I have seen fail

to give. But when we compare the best of Cimabue's works with those of Giotto, it is impossible not to be struck by the immense distance which divides them—a distance little less than that which separates the rude and spiritless rhymes of the predecessors of Dante from the Divina Comedia. With Giotto we find ourselves in the presence of an almost new art. The bonds of tradition which had hitherto limited and deadened the human intellect, although not altogether thrown off, have been broken through; and genius has given to painting a new starting-point, from which the development of all its highest qualities can be traced.

The genius of Giotto had led him to feel and to strive after the loftiest and noblest ends of art: correct and natural delineation of form; the rendering of individual sentiment and feeling; the representation of an incident by the combined expression and action of those who are taking part in it; and the pleasing and harmonious arrangement of lines and masses called composition. He only failed to reach the height to which he aimed, because there was no school of painters, no accumulated experience, from which he could learn the best technical processes of his art, and could correct and develop his own ideas. The laws of light and shade, and of linear and aërial perspective, and the proper representation of form which can only be acquired by the application of rules founded upon long experience, had all to be worked out by him without any previous example to guide and teach him. Great, therefore, as was the advance made by Giotto in the art of painting, it is not surprising that he failed to

carry out his magnificent conceptions in a manner altogether worthy of them. His followers and imitators, who form the greater part of the Italian Schools of the fourteenth and of the first half of the fifteenth century—especially that of Tuscany—and whose names and performances have been so carefully chronicled by Vasari, were far behind their master in intellect and power, but they had the advantage of his teaching and experience. Their works have consequently a trace of Giotto's sentiment and vigour, but exaggerate his defects; whilst they show some little progress in mastery over the technical part of the art, in which Giotto was deficient.

It remained for one of the painters of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, for Masaccio, to take up painting from the point at which Giotto had left it, and to carry it forward the next great step towards its maturest development. And this he accomplished, although his span of life was short, because he possessed, like Giotto, that rare genius which enabled him to shake off the trammels of convention, and to seek for truth in nature by ways of his own.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the human intellect was rapidly emancipating itself from those traditions of the dark ages which still weighed upon it. The arts followed letters in this great struggle. As the object of literature and science was to arrive at truth, so sculpture and painting strove in the same direction, by going back to nature, and seeking in her alone their models. Sculpture—as it has ever been the case—preceded painting in this onward movement. As

Niccola Pisano had gone before Giotto, so Ghiberti, in the gates of the Baptistery of Florence, first showed the way to that truthful imitation of nature, combined with the just application of the laws of art, which Masaccio was the first to carry out in painting. Rejecting the traditional forms which were still used by the followers of Giotto, he refused to accept conventional types for realities, and sought in nature herself for the principles of his art. He studied the laws of form and colour in all their details—laws which, for the most part, had been unknown to Giotto, or imperfectly understood by him; and laboured with singular success to carry them out in his works. And not only did Masaccio seek to imitate nature in her mere forms, but he also sought to represent the various aspects and subtle shades of human feeling and passion. He endeavoured to produce, as it were, actual deception upon the spectator. This he strove to accomplish by that proper and natural distribution of light and shade, which is technically called "modelling," and which can alone give the effect of roundness and relief to substances delineated on a flat surface; and by the most careful study and rendering of the proportions of the human frame and of all its subordinate details. At the same time he disposed his figures in groups, and gave to each one an appropriate expression, so that the subject of the picture, and his meaning, might be at once understood. He arranged his draperies in graceful, easy, and massive folds, which followed and showed the forms beneath; and he applied to his figures and backgrounds those laws of perspective which are absolutely necessary to give reality to a picture. He added to this strict imitation of nature, a feeling for rich and

harmonious colouring, and for graceful composition, and the power of selecting the most elevated and beautiful types appropriate to each class of subjects which he treated. Masaccio thus showed that he possessed the qualities which distinguish the great poet as well as the great painter ; qualities forming, when united with the most consummate mastery over the technical processes of the art—as in the frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael in the Vatican—the highest perfection which painting has hitherto attained.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, although he had little admiration for the painters who preceded the golden period of Italian art, and rarely notices their works, was sensible of the greatness of Masaccio, and of his influence upon the development of painting. He says of him, in his Twelfth Discourse: "Raphael had completely studied his works; and indeed there was no other, if we except Michelangelo (whom he likewise imitated), so worthy of his attention ; and though his manner was dry and hard, his compositions formal and not enough diversified, according to the custom of painters in that early period, yet his works possess that grandeur and simplicity which accompany, and even sometimes proceed from, regularity and hardness of manner. We must consider the barbarous state of the arts before his time, when skill in drawing was so little understood, that the best of the painters could not even foreshorten the foot, but every figure appeared to stand upon his toes ; and what served for drapery had, from the hardness and smallness of the folds, too much the appearance of cords clinging round the body. He first introduced large drapery, flowing in an easy and natural

manner; indeed he appears to be the first who discovered the path that leads to every excellence to which the art afterwards arrived, and may, therefore, be justly considered as one of the great fathers of modern art."

It will be seen, however, that much of the praise of Reynolds belongs in right to Filippino Lippi, whose works were confounded, in the English critic's time, with those of Masaccio.

Masaccio was the painter of only part of the series of frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, although it is undoubtedly to his genius that they owe their renown. It is curious that, notwithstanding the celebrity which they had attained immediately after their execution, there is scarcely any question connected with art that has given rise to more controversy than the authorship of each separate fresco. Vasari attributes them to Masolino, Masaccio, and Filippino Lippi, and assigns to each painter his share in the work.* Modern critics have for the most part followed Vasari in ascribing the frescoes to these three painters, without, however, accepting his statements as to the authorship of each separate work; but have endeavoured, by a close examination of each fresco, to determine its author. The most recent writer on the

* Albertini, whose treatise on the principal Monuments of Art in Florence was published as early as the year 1510, says: "La capella de' Brancacci mezza di sua mano (di Masaccio) e l'altra di Masolino, excepto Santo Pietro crucifixo, per mano di Philippo." We shall see that he was certainly in error as regards some of the frescoes which he assigns to Masaccio.

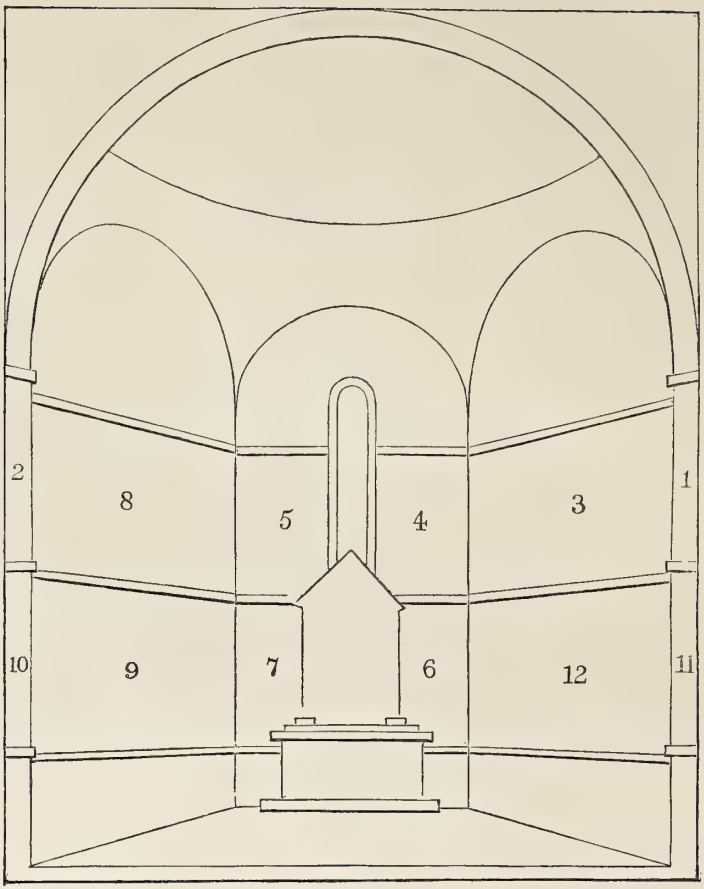
subject, Signor Cavalcaselle,* a critic of much acuteness and knowledge, and a patient investigator of the documentary evidence through which so much of modern art-criticism has been placed upon a solid foundation, maintains that only two of the painters mentioned by Vasari, Masaccio and Filippino Lippi, executed the frescoes now existing.

The accompanying plan will enable the reader to understand the form of the Brancacci Chapel and the position of the frescoes upon its walls. At its entrance are two pilasters supporting the arch which opens into the nave of the church. The walls end in lunettes, from which spring four spandrils and the vault. Twelve spaces (numbered from 1 to 12 in the plan), four of which are on the pilasters, are now occupied by frescoes. The paintings, which, according to Vasari, once occupied the lunettes and the vault, have either been destroyed, or are concealed beneath the modern decoration with which this part of the chapel has been covered.

The existing frescoes, with the exception of the first two, represent the principal events in the life of S. Peter, taken from the New Testament and from the legends, and are divided into the following subjects :†

* The principal modern authorities upon the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel are KUGLER, in his "Handbook of Italian Painting" (edited by Sir Charles Eastlake); the author of the notes and appendices to the lives of Masolino, Masaccio, and Filippino Lippi, in Le Monnier's edition of Vasari; and CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, who, in their admirable "History of Painting in Italy," have almost exhausted the subject.

† In numbering the frescoes, I have followed the order of the subjects All of them have been published by the Arundel Society.



PERSPECTIVE OF THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL IN THE CARMINE AT FLORENCE.*

1. Adam and Eve standing beneath the tree of knowledge, round which the serpent is entwined.

2. The expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.

3. The Apostle Peter raising Tabitha, and the Apostles Peter and John healing the cripple at the gate of the Temple.

4. S. Peter baptising.

5. S. Peter preaching.

6. S. Peter distributing alms.

* Taken from Crowe and Cavalcaselle's "History of Painting in Italy."

7. S. Peter and S. John curing the infirm and the sick.

8. Christ directing S. Peter to take the tribute money from the mouth of a fish, and the payment of the tribute money.

9. S. Peter restoring the King's son to life, and the Apostle enthroned.

10. S. Paul addressing S. Peter in prison.

11. The Angel delivering S. Peter from prison.

12. S. Peter and S. Paul before the Proconsul, and the Martyrdom of S. Peter.

Before proceeding to describe these frescoes, I will give a sketch of the lives of the three painters to whom they are ascribed, and an account of their principal works.

According to Vasari, Masolino was born in 1403, in the town of Panicale of Valdelsa, in the Florentine territory. He is, therefore, commonly known as Masolino da Panicale, to distinguish him from an eminent painter of the same name, who, at a later period, flourished at Ferrara. As a youth, he studied under Ghiberti; and having been employed by that great sculptor on the celebrated bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence, he became an excellent worker in metal. He did not, however, follow the profession of a sculptor, but left his master at an early age. When nineteen years old he gave himself to the study of painting under Starnina, an artist of some reputation and a fair colourist. After making some progress under this painter, he went to Rome in order to perfect himself in his art, but finding the air of that city injurious to his health, he returned to Florence. Soon afterwards he

gained so much fame by a fresco representing S. Peter, which he executed in the Church of the Carmine, that he was chosen to decorate the Chapel recently erected there by a member of the Brancacci family. The untiring energy and earnestness with which he devoted himself to this undertaking, brought on a fatal illness, and he died in the year 1440, at the age of thirty-seven, before completing the work which he had commenced. The only frescoes which he had executed were the figures of the four Evangelists on the vault; and, on the walls, Christ calling Andrew and Peter from their nets; the repentance of Peter after he had betrayed his Master; the Apostle preaching to the Gentiles; his shipwreck; S. Peter healing his daughter Petronilla (more correctly described as the raising of Tabitha); and the Apostle and S. John curing the lame man at the gate of the Temple.

Of the frescoes thus assigned by Vasari to Masolino, only two now remain, S. Peter healing Petronilla (or the raising of Tabitha) and the Apostle preaching. The biographer mentions no other works by this painter except a fresco in the casa Orsina at Rome, which has perished. His life of Masolino is singularly meagre and unsatisfactory, considering the important position which he assigns to him in the history of art. After the death of Masolino, his pupil Masaccio was, according to Vasari, appointed to complete the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel.

As Vasari must have been acquainted with contemporaries of Filippino Lippi, one of the painters who was employed

in executing the frescoes existing in the chapel, it might be fairly presumed that he had good authority for ascribing a part of them to Masolino. Even tradition, when attaching to works so important and well-known, might, in Vasari's day, have been accepted as almost sufficient evidence of the fact; and Albertini, whose treatise I have already quoted, and who only wrote five years after the death of Filippino Lippi, confirms his statement as to Masolino's share in the work. But it has been called in question by Signor Cavalcaselle on two distinct grounds : first, on account of proof, obtained from the most authentic sources, that nearly all the dates which Vasari has given in connection with Masolino's career are incorrect; and secondly, on the evidence furnished by a critical examination of the works themselves, and by a comparison between them and others undoubtedly executed by Masolino, recently discovered, and apparently unknown to Vasari.

It would appear from documents chiefly existing in the Florentine archives, that Masolino was the son of one Cristoforo Fini, and that he was born at Florence, and not at Panicale, in the year 1383, twenty years earlier than the time assigned for his birth by Vasari. His name was Tommaso, of which Masolino is the diminutive. There is no proof whatever that he worked under Ghiberti, and Vasari appears to have confounded him with another Tommaso, or Maso, the son of one Cristoforo Braccii, a goldsmith and worker in metals, who was employed on the gates of the Baptistery. It is probable that he studied painting under Starnina, as his biographer has stated. In the year 1423 he was admitted

into the guild of the doctors and apothecaries (medici e spezali) of Florence, a guild which seems to have received many painters. Not long afterwards he accompanied to Hungary the celebrated Filippo Scolari, better known as Pippo Spano, the Obergespann of Temeswar. He must have returned to Italy after a residence of three or four years abroad, for we find him in 1428, according to an inscription still extant, painting frescoes in a church and baptistery for Cardinal Brenda di Castiglione, in the pleasant town of Castiglione d' Olona, in the beautiful Lombard plains to the north of Milan. No further traces have as yet been found of this painter; and with the exception of the statement of Vasari, we have no account of the time and manner of his death.

Masaccio probably died, as it will be seen in the sequel, in 1429. Consequently, if Vasari's statement be true, that this painter continued the work that Masolino had commenced in the Brancacci Chapel, either Masolino must have executed the frescoes there previously to those at Castiglione d' Olona, or between his visit to that place and the death of Masaccio. A comparison of the frescoes at Castiglione d' Olona with those in the Carmine prove, in Signor Cavalcaselle's opinion, that the first supposition is untenable; as the latter works show a far greater acquaintance with the true principles of painting, and a more matured judgment and skill, than the former. It would be against all experience, he contends, to suppose that Masolino could have had less knowledge of his art in the later than in the earlier part of his career. On the other hand, it seems equally improbable that he should have painted

the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel attributed to him by Vasari within the few months which elapsed between the completion of his work at Castiglione d' Olona in 1428 and Masaccio's death in 1429. So that Signor Cavalcaselle comes to the conclusion, after a careful examination of dates and a critical comparison of the frescoes in the two places, either that there are no paintings by Masolino now existing in the Brancacci Chapel; or that, instead of Masaccio carrying on the work commenced by Masolino, the reverse was the case, and that it was the latter who was employed to finish the frescoes begun by Masaccio. The last supposition he rejects on critical grounds, and suggests that if the Brancacci Chapel did ever contain works by Masolino they must have been upon the vault and in the lunettes, and that they have been destroyed, or are concealed beneath the comparatively modern decoration with which the upper part of the chapel is now covered.*

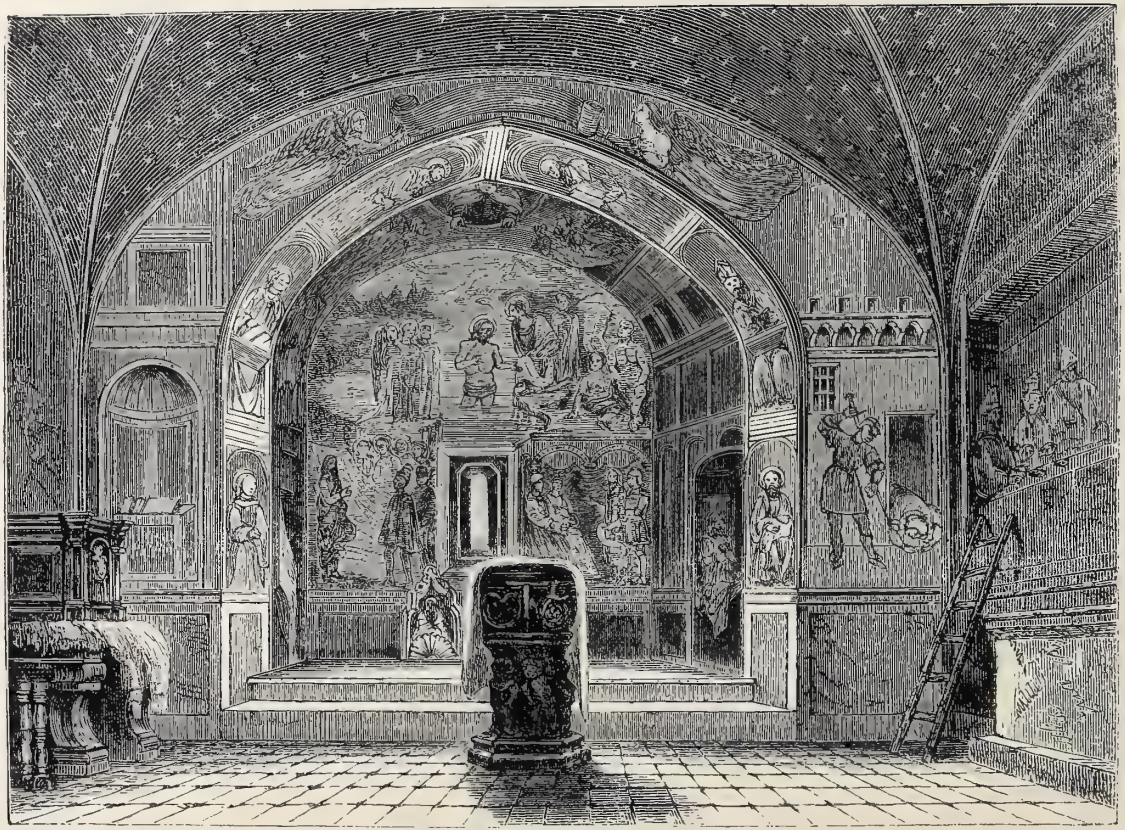
It is evident that no reliance can be placed upon Vasari's account of Masolino, especially as regards the dates. Assuming that the records which I have quoted do not refer to another painter of the same name, Masolino could not have died at the age of thirty-seven in 1440, leaving Masaccio to continue the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel. There can be no doubt as to the authorship and date of the frescoes at Castiglione d' Olona. The inscription upon a bas-relief over the principal entrance to the church, representing the Virgin

* The arguments on the subject of the authorship of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel are very fully stated in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy, vol. i., chap. xxiv.

holding the infant Christ, who is blessing Cardinal Branda, records the erection of the building by that dignitary in 1428. This date is repeated in the interior, where a contemporary inscription states that Masolino painted the frescoes—"MASOLINUS DE FLORENTIA PINSIT."

In this confusion of dates, arising out of Vasari's mistakes, it is necessary, in order to form an opinion as to the authorship of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel attributed to Masolino, to compare them carefully with his undoubted works at Castiglione d' Olona. At the same time, as nothing now remains of the paintings which, according to his biographer, he executed in the lunettes and on the vault, we have no means of testing Vasari's statement with regard to them.

It appears to me that the only fresco now existing in the Brancacci Chapel which has any claim to be considered as a work of Masolino, is the "Raising of Tabitha" (No. 3). I agree with Signor Cavalcaselle in attributing to Masaccio the other fresco, the "Preaching of S. Peter" (No. 5), assigned by Vasari to Masolino. In style and technical treatment, in composition, in the costumes of the figures, and in the architecture, the "Raising of Tabitha" seems to me to approach much nearer to the frescoes of Castiglione d' Olona than to those undoubtedly by Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel. That there should be a certain resemblance between the works of the two painters need cause us no surprise, as it is most probable that Vasari was right in saying that Masaccio was the pupil of Masolino. But there appears



THE BAPTISTERY AT CASTIGLIONE D' OLONA.

FROM A DRAWING BY MRS. HIGFORD BURR

to me to be so marked a difference between this fresco and the rest of the series in the Brancacci Chapel—it shows so evident an inferiority in composition, that I can scarcely bring myself to believe that they are by the same hand. It resembles the frescoes of Castiglione d' Olona in the introduction of fanciful costumes and head-dresses; and the action and expression of the figures are weak and commonplace, when compared with the works of Masaccio.* The difficulty of reconciling dates is no doubt considerable, and the question must perhaps be considered as undecided, until further records of an authentic character, illustrating the lives of the two painters, are discovered.

The frescoes of Masolino at Castiglione d' Olona were executed on the walls of two separate buildings, a church and an adjoining baptistery. On the vaulted ceiling and walls of the octangular choir of the church he painted scenes from the lives of the Virgin, S. Stephen, and S. Lawrence, and in one of the compartments he introduced the portrait of Cardinal Branda Castiglione, at whose expense the building was erected and decorated. The frescoes have suffered much from time and wanton injury. Towards the end of the last century they

* The description which Signor Cavalcaselle gives of Masolino's style and his defects, would appear to be especially applicable to the fresco of "The Raising of Tabitha." "He neglected the great maxims of composition—the general mass is forgotten for the sake of the detail—solitary figures are unduly prominent —wanting form, and absence of mass in light and shadow. He was careless of the traditional garb of time-honoured scriptural figures, and his personages were dressed in vast caps and turbans and tight-fitting clothes." History of Italian Painting, vol. i., p. 508, &c. These criticisms apply to the "Raising of Tabitha," but to no other fresco in the Brancacci Chapel.

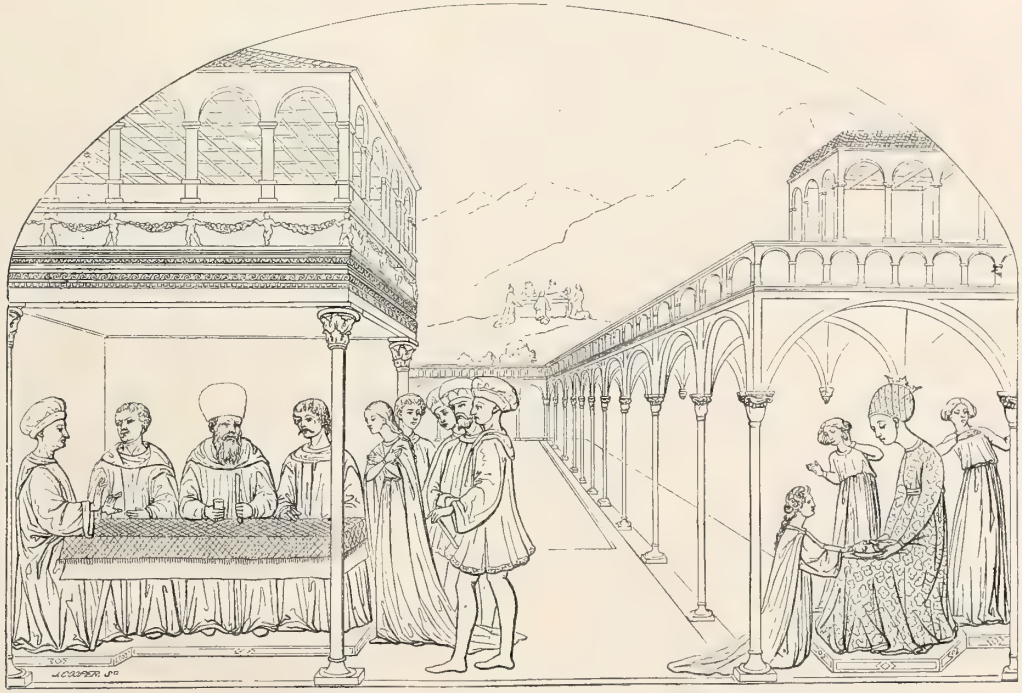
were covered with whitewash by the rector. In the year 1843 the whitewash was removed, but not without great damage to the paintings

These frescoes are distinguished by considerable merit. The figures are not deficient in grace, and are well conceived; the colour is subdued and harmonious. At the same time there is a dryness of manner and a conventional treatment of the subjects, which show that Masolino was still under the influence of the school of Giotto.

The inscription containing the name of the painter is written on a "cartellino," in an angle of the wall to the right of the high altar.

On the walls of the Baptistery, Masolino represented the history of S. John, and on the vaulted ceiling, Christ surrounded by Angels, the four Evangelists, and various Saints. The principal subjects are "S. John Preaching," the "Baptism of the Saviour," the "Daughter of Herodias before Herod,"* and the "Execution of the Baptist." In the fresco of "S. John Baptising," the figures of the men preparing for the rite are drawn with much spirit, and show a careful study of the nude. In treatment they are not unlike those of "S. Peter Baptising," by Masaccio, in the Brancacci Chapel. On the keystone of

* The woodcut of this fresco is from a drawing by Signor Cavalcaselle, and has been kindly lent to me by Mr. Murray, to whom I am also indebted for the woodcuts of Masaccio's fresco in S. Clemente at Rome, and of "S. Paul addressing S. Peter," by Lippi.



THE DAUGHTER OF HERODIAS BEFORE HEROD.

A PAINTING BY MASOLINO IN THE BAPTISTERY OF CASTIGLIONE D' OLONA

an arch is painted a date, 1435, which Signor Cavalcaselle believes to have been added long after the execution of the frescoes.*

No works by Masolino, except those which I have mentioned, are known to have been preserved, and there is no example of an easel picture or altar-piece by him.

Of the many illustrious painters who flourished in the fifteenth century, including Paolo Ucello, Fra Filippo Lippi, Ghirlandaio, and Sandro Botticelli, Masaccio was undoubtedly the one whose genius has had the greatest influence on the progress of painting, and who approaches the nearest to that high standard of perfection which was achieved by the great masters of the sixteenth century. And this is the more extraordinary when we consider the early age at which he died, and the small number of works which he appears to have left behind him. Vasari—no mean judge and critic of painting, and intimately acquainted with the practice of the art—says of him: "We are most especially indebted to Masaccio for that which regards the good method of painting; since it was he who, desirous of acquiring fame, first felt that painting was a close imitation, by outline and colour, of the various objects that nature herself has produced, and that he who best succeeds in accomplishing this, may be considered as having attained to the highest excellency in his art. Convinced of

* The editors of Le Monnier's edition of Vasari's "Lives" (Florence, 1848), believe this date to be contemporary with the frescoes. They would place the death of Masolino in 1440.

this truth, Masaccio, by constant study, so taught himself, that he may be classed amongst the first who freed painting almost completely from the dryness and imperfections by which it was characterised before his time. He was the first who introduced into painting beautiful action and movement, loftiness of character and life, and that appropriate and natural relief in his figures, which no painter before his time had succeeded in giving." Vasari adds, that "Masaccio's paintings will bear comparison with any modern work for correct drawing and for colour."

According to his biographer, Masaccio was born in the castellated town of S. Giovanni, in one of the most delightful parts of the valley of the Arno. His name was Tommaso, but he was familiarly called Masaccio, a reproachful corruption of it, meaning "slovenly, or dirty, Tom," on account of his negligent habits and dress. He was of a kindly and honest disposition, and ready to help others although careless of his own interests. He commenced the practice of his art when very young, and whilst Masolino was painting his frescoes in the Brancacci chapel. The works of Fra Filippo Lippi and Donatello were the chief objects of his study. His attention was principally directed to the laws of perspective, and Vasari especially mentions a picture by him, preserved in the house of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, the painter, representing Christ casting out devils, in which the outside and inside of several houses were represented with extraordinary skill. He also diligently employed himself in drawing from the nude, and in executing difficult foreshortenings.

After painting various altar-pieces and frescoes in Florence and the neighbourhood, he went to Rome in order to improve himself still more in his art. There he attained great fame by decorating with frescoes the Chapel of the Cardinal of S. Clemente, in the church dedicated to that saint. He painted besides several altar-pieces in tempera, on one of which Michelangelo one day bestowed high praise, in Vasari's presence. On the recall from exile of Cosimo de' Medici, who had always befriended and aided him, Masaccio returned to Florence. During his absence, Masolino had died, leaving unfinished the great work which he had commenced in the Brancacci chapel. Masaccio received a commission to complete it; but before undertaking a labour of so much importance, he desired to give some proof of the progress which he had made in his art. He accordingly painted in fresco a figure of S. Paul, in the Church of the Carmine, extolled by Vasari as a work of extraordinary power, in which the painter succeeded in conveying, in a most wonderful manner, the character of the Apostle by the expression of his countenance.* Whilst he was thus occupied the church was consecrated. In order to preserve a record of the ceremony, Masaccio represented it in a fresco over a doorway which led into the convent from the cloisters. It was painted in chiaroscuro, or *terra verde*, and he introduced into it, with consummate skill, a procession of Florentine citizens, including many of the most distinguished men of the time, and amongst them Masolino,

* This fresco, together with the figure of S. Peter, by Masolino, in the same church, was destroyed in 1675, when a chapel was built by one Andrea Corsini.

who had been his master. After finishing this work he painted various frescoes in the Brancacci chapel, which Vasari particularly describes. But before he could complete the task confided to him, he died, at the early age of twenty-six—so suddenly as to give rise to a suspicion that his death had been caused by poison. He was buried in the year 1443, in the Church of the Carmine, but no monument records the spot where he was interred.

Such is the history of this great painter, as given by Vasari. It abounds with mistakes, and errors of date. As in the case of Masolino, contemporary documents of undoubted authenticity furnish more trustworthy materials for the life of Masaccio than the mere traditions which appear to have been used by his biographer. He was born in 1402, fifteen years before the time assigned by Vasari, and was the son of a notary, named Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, of the family of Scheggia. The place of his birth appears to have been, as Vasari states, Castel S. Giovanni, in the Val d' Arno. Already at the age of nineteen (in 1421) he was enrolled in the guild of the apothecaries at Florence ; two years before Masolino was admitted into the same corporation. In the year 1424 he was registered as a member of the guild of painters, as "Maso di Ser Giovanni di Chastello Sangiovanni."*

The next authentic mention of Masaccio has been found in the registers of the property and incomes of the citizens of

* The registers quoted in the text are still preserved in the Florentine archives.

Florence, made in pursuance to a decree of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, in the year 1427. The return given by Masaccio and his brother Giovanni, declares that they lived in Florence with their mother, and that Masaccio was twenty-five years of age. They resided in a house belonging to one Andrea Macigni, for which they paid an annual rent of 10 florins. Masaccio earned 6 soldi a day, and occupied part of a shop belonging to the Badia of Florence, at the yearly rent of 2 florins. He declares himself debtor to Nicolo di Ser Lapo, painter, in 102 lire and 4 soldi. The family owe Pietro Battiloro about 6 florins, and to the pawnbrokers, at the signs of "The Lion," and "The Cow," for articles pawned at various times, 4 florins. There was, moreover, owing to his assistant, Andrea di Giusto, for arrears of salary, 6 florins.*

* This return of Masaccio's property, first published by Gaye, in his "Carteggio," vol. i., p. 115, is very curious. It is in the following words:—

"Dinanzi a voi Signori uficiali del chatasto di firenze, e chontado e distretto, qui faccio tutti nostri beni e sustanze, mobili e immobili, di noi tommaso e giovanni di S. Giovanni da Castel Sangiovanni, valdarno di sopra, abitanti in firenze. Abbiamo dextimo soldi sei.

"Siamo in famiglia noi due chonnostra madre, la quale è d' età danni quaranta cinque; io tomaso sono detà danni venticinque e giovanni mio fratello sopradetto è detà danni venti.

"Siamo in una chasa dandrea macigni, della quale paghiamo lanno di pigione fiorini 10, che da 1° via, da 2° il detto andrea, da 3° larcivescovo di firenze, da 4° il detto andrea.

"Tengo io tomaso parte duna bottega della badia di firenze, della quale pago lanno lanno (*sic*) fiorini 2, che di 1° via, da 2° e 3° da 4° la detta badia. Sono debitore di nicholo di s. lapo dipintore di lire 102 s. 4.

"Siamo debitori di piero battiloro di fior 6, o circa. Siamo debitori al presto di lioni e quello della vacha per pegni nabbiamo posti in più volte, di fior 4.

"Siamo debitori dandre di giusto, il quale stette chomeco tomaso sopradetto, di suo salario fior 6.

In the return of Nicolo di Ser Lapo for the same year, the debt owing to him is stated to be 200 lire, or nearly double the amount mentioned by Masaccio; and in that for the year 1430, he declares that the heirs of Tommaso di Ser Giovanni the painter, still owe him 68 lire. "This Tommaso," he adds, "died at Rome, and I know not whether I shall ever get any part of my money, as his brother says that he is not his heir."* Masaccio's income return for the same year still exists, but only in part filled up, and with these words written in a strange hand upon it: "dicesi é morto in Roma" —"He is said to have died in Rome." He would then have been about twenty-eight years old, and the statement of Vasari as to his death at the age of twenty-seven, would be confirmed, but not the biographer's account of the locality at which it took place, and the circumstances attending it. No other documentary evidence has been discovered relating to Masaccio.

Of the various works which, according to Vasari, Masaccio executed at Florence before his first visit to Rome, none remain

"Nostra madre dè avere fior 100 per la sua dota, quaranta da mona d' andreuccio di chastel sangiovanni, e sessanta dalle rede di tedescho di chastel sangiovanni, il quale fu suo sechondo marito. Nostra madre sopradetto dè avere dalle rede del sopradetto tedesco il frutto duna vigna, posta nella piscina nella corte di chastel sangiovanni, per un lascio fatto dal sopradetto tedesco, nonne schriviamo la rendita dela vigna, nè chonfini, perchè nogli sappiamo, nè nonà nostra madre alchuna rendita della detta vigna nè abita nella detta chasa."

* "Rede di Tommaso di Ser Giovanni dipintore den dare lire sessanta otto. Questo Tommaso morì a Roma, non so se mai n' aro alcuna cosa, poichè dice il fratello non essere rede."

except the fresco in the Church of S. Maria Novella. It is highly praised by his biographer, especially that part of it which represents a vaulted ceiling in perspective; but curiously enough it remained concealed for two centuries by a vast altar-piece, of no great merit, painted by Vasari himself. When the Church of S. Maria Novella was restored a few years ago, Masaccio's fresco was uncovered, and having been detached from the wall was removed to another part of the building. Unfortunately it was exposed at the same time to the destructive process of restoration, and it has consequently suffered so much, that little remains to show its original character. It represents the Trinity between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, with two kneeling figures, probably portraits of the persons, man and wife, for whom the fresco was executed. From the vigour of the treatment, as compared with the frescoes in S. Clemente at Rome, Signor Cavalcaselle believes it to be of a later period than that assigned to it by Vasari, who places it amongst the painter's earliest works. It is remarkable for a careful study of anatomy; the expression of the various heads is dignified and life-like, and the whole is executed with a power and a mastery over the materials employed, which are characteristic rather of a mature painter of the sixteenth century, than of one who had commenced his career at the beginning of the fifteenth. At the same time, in composition and style this fresco is inferior to those in the Brancacci Chapel.

Amongst the earliest known works by Masaccio, are the

frescoes in the Church of S. Clemente at Rome.* Except from Vasari's statement, we have no knowledge of the time at which they were painted, but they bear signs of having been executed at the commencement of the painter's career, probably in the year 1423 or 1424, when Masaccio was about twenty-one years of age.† They cover the vault, an arch, and the walls of a chapel. Those on the vault and arch represent the Evangelists, various saints, the Twelve Apostles, and the doctors of the church. Those on the walls, the Crucifixion and scenes from the histories of S. Catherine, S. Clemente, and of some other saint who has not been satisfactorily identified. In the Crucifixion, Masaccio has followed, in the general composition and disposition of the principal figures, the traditional arrangement of Giotto and his followers. In the centre, beneath the Saviour crucified between the two thieves, is the usual group of the fainting Virgin supported by the three Maries and S. John the Evangelist; Roman soldiers, some on horseback, and various spectators, are assembled round the cross. In knowledge of anatomy and in technical execution, this fresco shows

* It is to be observed that the editors of the last edition of Vasari's Lives, maintain that the frescoes in the Chapel of S. Clemente are not by Masaccio, but by an earlier master of the school of Giotto. (Le Monnier's ed. Life of Masaccio.)

† Signor Cavalcaselle (History of Italian Painting, vol. i., p. 525) suggests that the frescoes were painted previous to 1421, but they could scarcely have been executed by Masaccio at the age of seventeen. He assigns this early date to them in order to explain Vasari's statement that Masaccio returned to Florence from Rome upon the recall of Cosimo de' Medici, which took place in 1434, some years after the painter's death: an event which, he suggests, the biographer may have confounded with the return to power of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, in 1420.

considerable advance upon the works of the painters of the previous century, and the head of the dying Christ is singularly fine. But it is in the frescoes representing the life and martyrdom of S. Catherine, that Masaccio has given evidence of his power as an original painter. The finest and best known of these compositions is the one which represents the Saint disputing with the doctors before Maxentius. The

S. CATHERINE DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.
A FRESCO BY MASACCIO, IN S. CLEMENTE AT ROME.

Emperor is on his throne at the end of a room, on either side of which are seated four doctors. They are earnestly listening to S. Catherine, and their action and expression are admirable for variety and truth to nature. The figure of the youthful Saint is full of grace and innocence. She stands calmly in the midst of the doctors enforcing her argument by a gesture

of her two hands, still natural to Italian disputants. The composition is very simple, and vividly recalls the works of Fra Angelico.

Of the other frescoes, the most interesting are S. Catherine refusing to worship the idols, the Saint converting the Queen from the window of her cell, the executioners endeavouring in vain to break her upon the wheel, and her final martyrdom, and that of the Queen, by decapitation. They are each distinguished by the same simple and pleasing composition, by natural and graceful action and expression, and by that knowledge of form which the painter subsequently displayed so remarkably in the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel. Unfortunately they have suffered so much from decay and unskilful restoration, that but little of Masaccio's original work remains. The other frescoes are of less interest, and are in a worse condition than those representing the history of S. Catherine.*

The resemblance in style between the frescoes of the chapel of S. Clemente and those of Masolino at Castiglione d' Olona confirms the statement of Vasari, that Masaccio had studied and formed himself upon the works of that painter.

After painting these frescoes, Masaccio probably returned to Florence and obtained the commission to decorate the walls of the Brancacci Chapel, but first executed fresco representing

* Engravings of the frescoes and of tracings from the principal heads, were published in Rome, in 1830, by Giovanni dall' Armi.

the consecration of the church. It still existed in the lifetime of Vasari, who praises the singular skill with which the painter had arranged and grouped the figures in procession, and the truthfulness of their expressions, but shortly afterwards entirely disappeared. According to the author of an old work on the principal monuments of Florence,* it had not been destroyed, but had been concealed by a wall which had been built up in the cloister when some alterations were made in the church, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Mr. Kirkup, so well known in connection with the interesting discovery of Giotto's portrait of Dante, in the Bargello at Florence, and for his intimate acquaintance with the history and ancient monuments of the city, was convinced that if the wall were taken down the fresco would be found preserved behind it; and he endeavoured to persuade the authorities of the church to try the experiment. However, only a part of the whitewash in the cloister was removed, but a fresco was discovered beneath it; not the one representing the consecration of the church painted in chiaroscuro, as described by Vasari, but apparently a fresco by Masaccio, and not unworthy of him. It has, fortunately, escaped the brush of the restorers, and some judgment can, therefore, be formed as to its merits. It is in colour; and in the part uncovered are groups of friars, with buildings, and a landscape in the background. Masaccio's great fresco may still remain, and it is to be regretted that after the discovery of this fragment no further attempt has been made to recover it.

* Bocchi. Bellezze di Firenze, ed. 1671, p. 337.

Of the various paintings in public galleries and private collections attributed to Masaccio, none appear to have any well-founded claim to authenticity except an altar-piece, called "The Conception," described by Vasari as having been originally painted for the Church of S. Ambrogio, at Florence, and now in the gallery of the Academy of Arts in that city. This picture is believed to be a genuine though youthful work of the painter. It has been much injured by restoration, and has been further damaged by the use of bad varnish; but it recalls the manner and method of Masaccio, especially in the proportions and outlines of the figures, and in the peculiar mode of using high-lights in order to give relief and roundness of form. The fine head of a youth, in a red cap and dark brown dress, in the National Gallery, assigned to him, and sometimes called his own portrait, is probably a work by Filippino Lippi. It is remarkable, considering the reputation which he had acquired, that so much mystery should hang over Masaccio's death. The tradition recorded by Vasari, that he had died of poison, was probably without foundation; but it is evident from the documents which I have quoted that he had left Florence in a secret and mysterious way. It is probable that the unfortunate painter, overwhelmed with debt and hard pressed by relentless creditors, had fled to Rome, leaving unfinished the great work which he had undertaken in the Brancacci Chapel; thus furnishing another example of the unhappy end to the career of men of genius of the same stamp.

Many years elapsed before a painter was found to complete

Masaccio's work. At length, towards the end of the century, between the years 1482 and 1490, Filippino Lippi, who had acquired great fame as a master, was commissioned to finish the series of frescoes which Masolino had commenced more than half a century before.

Vasari, in writing the life of Filippino Lippi, accepted, as was too much his habit, all the traditional gossip which was current in his day, and treated it as authentic history. Consequently his account of this painter is full of errors, and wrong dates. Filippino, he states, was the natural son of Fra Filippo Lippi, the celebrated painter and Carmelite friar, by a novice named Lucrezia Buti, whom he had seduced, and who had eloped with him from her convent. The story of Fra Filippo, as related by Vasari, is apparently a pure romance. The friar, he tells us, was captured by Barbary pirates, and carried into slavery, but was released from his chains as a reward for drawing his master's portrait in charcoal. On his return to his native country he ran away with Lucrezia, and was expelled the Carmelite order. He refused to avail himself of a dispensation offered to him by Pope Eugenius IV., which would have enabled him to marry the nun, and continued to live an immoral and disorderly life until his death. This romantic story, like many others related by Vasari, has been disproved by documentary evidence. Fra Filippo appears to have remained until the close of his life a poor friar. A letter is preserved in which he begs Piero de' Medici to give him some corn and oil in part payment of a picture which he had painted, in order that six marriageable

nieces, who were entirely dependent upon him, might not starve. At the age of forty he was chaplain to the convent of nuns of S. Giovanni, in Florence, and five years later he was rector of the Church of S. Quirico, at Legnaia. It is not likely that the seducer of a nun, and one who continued to lead the dissolute life attributed to him by his biographer, would have held these offices in the church. Filippino Lippi was probably the relative and scholar, and not the natural son, of Fra Filippo, and, in accordance with a custom prevalent at that time amongst artists, had been adopted by the friar. Filippino appears to have been born at Prato, a town of some importance near Florence; but the precise period of his birth has not been ascertained: it may have been about the year 1460. He was taught painting as a boy by Fra Filippo, who, however, died when Filippino was still a youth. He probably finished his studies under Fra Diamante, a painter of no great eminence, and a friar of the Carmelite convent, to whose care Fra Filippo had left him. According to Vasari, however, Sandro Botticelli was his master, and there is, indeed, much in his style and mode of colouring to remind one of that great painter, so much so that their works are frequently confounded. But as they were nearly of the same age it is more likely that they were fellow-students, and that they both acquired the same manner in the studio of Fra Filippo.

One of the earliest works of Filippino was an altar-piece on panel, representing the Vision of S. Bernard, painted for the Chapel of Francesco del Pugliese, at Campara, outside one

of the gates of Florence, and now placed in the church of the Badia, within the walls of that city. It was finished in 1480, when Filippino had only reached his twentieth year, and is still in admirable preservation.* Although in this picture he does not display the breadth of treatment and large style of Masaccio, but shows in its details and composition that he was still under the influence of the hard, conventional manner of the *quattrocentisti*, and to a certain extent of his first teacher; yet he had already carried the technical part of the art far beyond them, and had attained a richness and harmony of colour never reached by Fra Filippo Lippi. The Virgin suddenly presenting herself before the musing Saint, and turning over the leaves of his book, is a figure of singular dignity, grace, and beauty. The angels who attend her and nestle round her, are amongst the most charming creations of the playful fancy of the painter. The action and expression of the Saint, who starts from his reverie and contemplates the vision with astonishment, are very truthfully represented. The portrait of the donor, who kneels in the corner, is vigorously painted and life-like, but is awkwardly introduced, and interferes with the symmetry of the composition. The background with groups of friars, rocks, trees, and buildings, forms one of those conventional landscapes adopted by most painters of the time in their easel pictures. It, however, shows a feeling for nature, and an attempt to reproduce her forms, which has earned the praise of Vasari. The colour, which is

* A copy of this beautiful work has recently been made for the Arundel Society by Signor Mariannecci. It will be included in the "second" annual publications of the Society for the present year (1868).

of tempera of the finest description, is singularly rich and pleasing. The figure of S. Bernard is defective in drawing, especially in the unnatural length of the body—a fault not apparent in the other figures.

This picture may be compared with the representation of the same subject by Filippino's adopted father, Fra Filippo Lippi, now in the National Gallery—the graceful imagination and playful fancy of the scholar with the severe and simple treatment of the master. The contrast between the two works shows the direction in which painting was rapidly advancing towards the end of the fifteenth century, and how the way was being prepared for the great school which was founded by Raphael and Michelangelo.

In the "Vision of S. Bernard" and in other pictures painted in his early youth, Filippino Lippi had not risen to the dignity and the truthful representation of nature which distinguish his frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, and which he acquired from the study of the works of his great predecessor, Masaccio. No record has hitherto been discovered which enables us to fix with certainty the date of his employment in the Church of the Carmine. His frescoes there show the results of long and careful study, and of mature experience. When we compare them with the "Vision of S. Bernard" and other pictures by him of the same period, it is scarcely possible not to feel convinced that some years must have elapsed between their execution, and that the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel were not, as

Vasari has asserted, amongst his earliest works. It was probably, therefore, after he had had much practice as a painter, and towards the end of the century, that they were undertaken. We know, from existing records, that he was in Rome from the year 1489 to about 1493, in the service of Cardinal Olivero Caraffa, for whom he painted a series of frescoes in a chapel in the Church of the Minerva. It seems to me that these works show an inferiority of style and execution to those in the Brancacci Chapel, which tends to prove that they are of an earlier date.*

The frescoes in the Caraffa Chapel represent incidents from the legend of S. Thomas Aquinas. They are distinguished by a rich fancy, boldness of execution, variety in the expression, attitudes, and grouping of the figures; a life-like truth and individuality in the various heads, giving them the character of portraits; and a considerable knowledge of the laws of composition. The architectural backgrounds are rich in ornaments and arabesques, classic in design and spirit, and such as, according to Vasari, Filippino first introduced into painting, after he had made careful studies and drawings from the ancient monuments by which he found himself surrounded in Rome. In the most important of these frescoes, S. Thomas

* Signor Cavalcaselle, however, is of a different opinion (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, vol. ii., p. 441); and it must be admitted that there is strong evidence to favour his view, if Vasari is right in placing amongst the portraits introduced into one of the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel those of Messer Soderini, who died in 1485, and of the poet Pulci, who died in 1486; but little dependence can be placed upon this writer's statements.

Aquinas is represented seated on a richly-ornamented architectural throne, between four allegorical female figures, amongst which are Theology and Philosophy. He is defending the church from the attacks of her enemies, and he tramples under foot a prostrate unbeliever. Before him stand two groups of discomfited heretics, including Arius, Sabellius, Averroes, and other promoters of heresy. On the ground, in the midst of them, lie their books, scattered and torn. Distant views of mountains and buildings are seen in the background, and the subject is enclosed by two pilasters ornamented with elegant arabesques.* Vasari possessed Filippino's original design for this fresco, upon which he bestows much praise. Amongst the other frescoes in the chapel, are those of "S. Thomas kneeling before the Crucifix," when, according to the legend, the figure of Christ spake, and addressed to him the words, "Bene scripsisti de me, Toma," and the "Annunciation" and "Ascension of the Virgin."†

The proportions of the figures in these works are not always correct, the heads being too large; and the drawing, in general, is somewhat weak and constrained—defects which are not apparent in Filippino's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel. The colour is also rather monotonous in tone and wants vigour, but this may be the result of repainting and of injudicious restoration, which have impaired its original

* A careful copy of this fresco, and facsimiles of some of the finest heads, have been made for the Arundel Society by Signor Mariannecci.

† Several frescoes which existed in Vasari's time were destroyed when a monument was erected in the chapel to Pope Paul IV.

brightness and transparency. The heads are full of character and individuality, and are amongst the best examples of the painter's style.

One of the most charming and characteristic paintings executed by Filippino after his return from Rome, was a Madonna, with Saints and Angels, in a "tabernacolo" or small way-side oratory, in the picturesque town of Prato. Time and neglect have dealt hardly with this fresco, but still in the perishing outlines and in the tender fading colours may be traced one of the most graceful and beautiful creations of the painter.

He married, in 1497, one Margherita, whose family name has not been preserved. He had by her one son, who inherited his collection of sketches, drawings, and studies from the antique, some of which appear to have passed into the collection of Vasari.

In the year 1500 Filippino was employed at Florence on his last considerable work, the decoration in fresco of the Chapel of the Strozzi family in the Church of S. Maria Novella. He had received the commission for it some years before. The frescoes which he executed and which cover the walls and vaulted ceiling, represent incidents from the legends of S. Drusiana, S. John, and S. Philip. In composition, in execution, and in general interest they are inferior to those which he painted in the Caraffa Chapel. They are overloaded with architectural details and with Roman ornaments and

emblems, which are not wanting in fancy and elegance, but are out of place and mar the general effect. The figures are frequently characterised by weak and defective drawing and incorrect proportions, and the colour is deficient in richness and harmony—this, however, may be in part owing to recent repainting and restoration.

The frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel appear to me to mark a decline of the powers of the artist, whilst those in the Caraffa Chapel show progress, and a bold and vigorous hand. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel—undoubtedly the best of his works—were painted in the interval between the execution of these two undertakings.

Filippino Lippi died of fever and quinsy in 1505, at the age of forty-five years, whilst painting a picture for the high-altar of the Church of the Annunziata. He was buried in the Church of S. Michele Bisdomini, at Florence. During his life-time he had been held in high esteem by his fellow-citizens, and like many great artists of his time, seems to have exercised a good deal of influence in his native city. We find by the records of the period that he was frequently called upon by the magistrates and chiefs of the republic to act upon commissions in matters of art, and to aid them with his opinion and advice. Vasari says that he was of a very courteous and amiable disposition, and that his death was lamented by all who knew him, and especially by the youth of Florence, whom he was always ready to help in their public festivals, masks, and other amusements, with his fruitful fancy and merry inventions

—in which he had no equal. So much was he beloved that the shops were closed in the streets through which his funeral passed, a mark of honour and respect only shown on the rarest occasions to illustrious citizens.

In addition to the frescoes which I have described, Filippino painted many altar-pieces and easel pictures, all on panel, some of which are still to be found in the churches of Florence and of the neighbourhood, or are preserved in public galleries and private collections. They are generally pleasing in colour and in composition. His female figures, especially his representations of the Virgin, are distinguished by much grace and religious sentiment; and there is a vigorous portrait-like character in his male heads which adds interest to his pictures. The most remarkable of his larger works are the altar-piece in the Chapel of the Nerli family in the Church of S. Spirito, at Florence, and the Adoration of the Magi, in the Gallery of the Uffizi; both of them excellent examples of his best qualities—of his playful fancy, of his truthful rendering of nature, of the life-like individuality of his figures, and of his rich and harmonious colouring. The picture upon which he was engaged at the time of his death, representing Christ taken down from the cross, was finished by Pietro Perugino, and is now in the gallery of the Academy at Florence. The large altar-piece by him, painted for the Rucellai family, and now in the National Gallery, of the Virgin and Child, with S. Jerome and S. Domenick, and the "predella," with half-length figures of the Magdalen, S. Francis, and the dead Christ supported by Joseph of Arimathea, is a work of his later period. It is less pleasing

in composition, and less graceful in the forms, than some of his earlier productions, and the colour has lost much of its richness, and has become dark and heavy through age; but the picture is marked by his vigorous treatment, and the individuality of his heads. The national collection contains two other pictures attributed to him—the Adoration of the Magi, apparently part of a "cassone" or chest, and a small picture representing S. Francis in glory, surrounded by graceful and fanciful figures of angels playing on various instruments of music. Although both are pleasing works, they are not to be classed amongst the best specimens of Filippino's skill.

Having thus given a sketch of the lives of the three painters who, according to Vasari and other authorities, were employed upon the walls of the Brancacci Chapel, I will proceed to describe the works which have been attributed to each of them.

Of the paintings which once adorned the vault and the lunettes, no traces, as I have already mentioned, can now be seen. It is doubtful whether they have been entirely destroyed, or whether—like many other works of the great painters of the early periods of Italian art—they are still concealed beneath modern decoration and whitewash. They were executed, according to Vasari, who gives a description of them, by Masolino. Those in the vault represented the four Evangelists—those in the lunettes, Christ taking S. Peter and S. Andrew from their nets, S. Peter denying Christ, and the shipwreck of the Apostles. The frescoes which now remain do

not follow any particular arrangement. With the exception of two, the whole series refers to incidents in the life of S. Peter. The two exceptions are Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, and the Expulsion from Paradise, which occupy the upper parts of the two pilasters at the entrance to the Chapel (Nos. 1 and 2).* The first has been generally attributed to Masolino, and the other to Masaccio. Signor Cavalcaselle assigns both to the last-named painter. There is no doubt that both are marked by his peculiar manner of seeking to give the effect of roundness and relief by applying the high lights to the edges of his forms, and by that warm reddish hue which pervades his flesh tints. In both the nude shows a careful study of nature, and perhaps of classic examples. The proportions are, on the whole, correct, as are the general indications of the anatomical details. The action of the figures is natural, and proper relief is given to them by just distribution of light and shade; nor are they deficient in a certain grace. In all these respects these frescoes display a very great advance upon any previous and contemporary works—more especially in the successful attempt to represent the human form, from a careful study of nature herself. In this alone they mark an epoch in the history of painting.

In the first fresco Adam and Eve are represented standing under the tree of knowledge, round which is coiled the serpent, with the head of a woman, as is usual in pictures of the time.

* These two frescoes were included in the publications of the Arundel Society for 1861.

Eve holds in her hand the fatal apple, and turns toward Adam with a calm expression of entreaty, whilst he extends one hand towards her, as if in the act of remonstrating. In the Expulsion, Adam hides his face with both hands as if in a paroxysm of grief, and Eve looks towards heaven with an expression of anguish and despair. An angel floating in the air holds a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other points to the way out of Paradise. Raphael appears to have felt so much admiration for this group that he introduced it into the series of scripture subjects, which he executed in the Loggie of the Vatican, making some slight alterations in it to improve the composition. He reversed the position of the arms of Eve, and connected the angel more closely with the two central figures, although perhaps not thereby adding to the dignity of the composition, by placing one of its hands upon the shoulder of Adam, as if it were forcibly expelling him from Paradise. The figure of Adam he has left as Masaccio conceived it, probably thinking that it could not be improved.

The next fresco, following the most convenient arrangement according to subjects, is the upper one to the right on entering the chapel (No. 3). It is divided, according to the habit of painters of that time, into two distinct parts, representing two different incidents, in both of which the same person plays the principal part. To the right is Peter raising Tabitha,* to the left the Apostle healing the cripple at the gate of the Temple.

* Acts, chap. ix.

Vasari incorrectly describes this fresco as "S. Peter releasing his daughter Petronilla from her infirmity." This legend has rarely, if ever, been painted by the early Italian masters, and it is probable that in designing a series of frescoes illustrating the life of S. Peter, the painter would rather have chosen an incident described in scripture than an apocryphal and little-known story. S. Petronilla, according to the Roman legend, was a daughter of the Apostle, who accompanied him to Rome, where she became paralysed in her limbs, and was unable to move from her bed. The disciples of S. Peter having made it a reproach to him, that whilst he healed others he permitted his daughter to remain stricken with infirmity, he caused her to rise and to serve them at table, after which she returned to her couch helpless as she was before. After many years of suffering and of prayer she was healed. A noble Roman, of the name of Valerius Flaccus, then became enamoured of her and sought her for his wife. Fearing to refuse him she desired him to return in three days, when she would go with him to his home. In the meanwhile she prayed fervently to be delivered from this sore trial. Before Flaccus came back she died. She was borne to the grave, crowned with roses, by her lover and the company of young nobles who had accompanied him to claim her as his bride.*

This fresco is the only one in the Brancacci Chapel, the authorship of which is open to any doubt. Vasari attributes it

* This legend is related by Mrs. Jameson, in her Sacred and Legendary Art, vol. i., p. 185, from the Legendario.

to Masolino, and his opinion had been accepted by all writers on art who had investigated the subject. But recently it has been rejected, as I have already stated, by Signor Cavalcaselle, who assigns it to Masaccio.

Tabitha, clothed in white, is raising herself upon her bed. Kneeling by her side are two women, dressed as nuns, "the widows" of the story. Near her are three men, one of whom wears an eastern dress and a turban. They show their astonishment at the miracle by rather violent action of the hands, and by somewhat exaggerated expression of countenance. The Apostle, with a companion, stands at the entrance to the kind of portico beneath which the bed of Tabitha has been placed. He stretches out his right hand, extending two fingers, as in the act of blessing and calling the dead woman to life.*

It will be perceived that the painter has not closely followed the scripture narrative. The miracle is said to have taken place in "an upper chamber," and after Peter had put out those who stood by him weeping. The Apostle then knelt down, and when, at his command, Tabitha opened her eyes, and sat up, he gave her his right hand and lifted her up.† The painter has represented the miracle as taking place in an open portico, in the street of a city, and in the presence of various spectators.

* A copy of this fresco was included in the publications of the Arundel Society for 1862.

† Acts, chap. ix.

The group which I have described, is so inferior in its composition, and in dignity and refinement, to the other frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, attributed, upon the best evidence, to Masaccio, that it is difficult to convince oneself that they are by the same hand.* At the same time there are many points of resemblance between them, especially in the distribution of light and shade, and in the general tone of colour, which would tend to show that they are the works of two men who had studied in the same school, or who stood in the relation to each other of master and scholar. The same remark will apply to the remaining half of the fresco, which is not connected with the part just described in the general composition, and represents a different subject. S. Peter, accompanied by S. John, is seen healing a cripple. The figure of S. Peter is dignified, but inferior in conception to that of the Apostle in the other frescoes in the chapel. His action, and that of the deformed man who appeals to him, is natural. Two youths standing near are dressed in fantastic costumes, after the manner of Masolino. They are not necessary to the composition, which wants unity and spirit. The background, which represents a street, probably in old Florence, resembles one in a fresco by Masolino at Castiglione d' Olona.

Following the upper line of frescoes we next come to "S. Peter Baptising"† (No. 4), which Vasari attributes, and no

* The inferiority in the treatment of this fresco may be seen by comparing the facsimile of the head of S. Peter, published by the Arundel Society, with the facsimiles of other heads by Masaccio, also included in the Society's publications.

† Published by the Arundel Society in their issue for 1861.

doubt rightly, to Masaccio. It is impossible not to be struck with the superiority of this great work over the one I have just described—in the grandeur and dignity of the figures, in the lofty character of the heads, in the natural grace of the action of the persons represented, in the broad and skilful arrangement of the draperies, and in the composition. If they were both painted by Masaccio, his progress during the short interval which must have elapsed between the time of their execution is without example.

S. Peter is represented standing on the bank of a small stream. With his left hand he gathers together his ample garments, whilst with his right he pours water from a small vessel upon the head of a youth, who kneels in the stream, and joins his hands together in prayer with a devout and earnest expression. The countenance of the Apostle is grave, and his action natural and dignified. Around this group are several men preparing to receive the rite of baptism. One, already undressed, stands shivering in the cold. Vasari especially praises the natural action of this figure, which, he declares, had attracted the admiration of the greatest painters, and which was altogether a new feature in art. Behind S. Peter are two men in turbans. In the background are sketched, with remarkable freedom of touch, some distant hills.

The nude in this fine composition is more carefully studied and understood, and more truthfully and broadly rendered than, in the figures of Adam and Eve already described. The types which the painter has adopted for the Apostle and his disciples,

differ from those in the "Raising of Tabitha," and reappear in the other frescoes by Masaccio. Had this work alone been preserved, it would have been sufficient to justify the reputation of its author as the greatest and most original painter of the century in which he lived, so rich in great painters, and as the founder of what Vasari has termed "modern art"—that is to say, of its last and most perfect phase, the union of the highest idealisation of form, action, and expression, with the most truthful representation of nature, and the most intimate knowledge of the laws of composition and of colour, and the most consummate technical skill.

The next fresco in order of arrangement represents S. Peter Preaching* (No. 5). It is assigned by Vasari and by some modern critics to Masolino, but there can be little doubt that it is by Masaccio, as it is almost identical in character with the one last described. The Apostle stands with his right hand raised, in the act of addressing the multitude. Behind him are his two companions in turbans, as in the previous fresco. In front of him is a group of men and women, some seated and others standing. They are listening with deep attention to the words of the Apostle, and the effect produced upon each of them is shown by an appropriate expression of countenance. Sir Joshua Reynolds suggests that Raphael borrowed one of the figures in his cartoon of S. Paul Preaching at Athens—that of the listening bystander to the right—from the representation, in this fresco, of the old

* Arundel Society's Publications for 1861.

man seated on the ground, with "his head sunk in his breast and with his eyes shut, appearing deeply wrapt up in thought."*

Masaccio has shown in this fresco that remarkable power of telling a story in a simple and natural way, which distinguishes his earliest works in the Church of S. Clemente at Rome.

The frescoes that apparently succeed in order of execution and arrangement are those on the lower part of the same wall. They continue the history of the miracles and acts of S. Peter. In the one to the right (No. 6), the Apostle and S. John are represented distributing alms to the poor, and in the one to the left (No. 7), they are seen walking by the sick, who are cured by the shadows of the Apostles passing over them. These two frescoes are rightly assigned by Vasari to Masaccio. The composition in both is admirable for its simplicity. In the fresco of the distribution of alms, S. Peter and his brother disciple are seen in the midst of the sick, the poor, and the deformed. The countenance of the elder Apostle is singularly grand and dignified.† His hair is arranged in three bands, as typical of the triple crown of the papacy. In one hand he holds a money-box, and with the other gives a coin to a poor woman, who stands before him with a child in her arms. A cripple on crutches drags himself towards the two Apostles, and a young man lies stretched on the ground at their feet.

* Twelfth Discourse.

† A facsimile of the head of S. Peter was published by the Arundel Society in its issue for 1863.

Several men and women complete the picture, the background of which is formed by houses and distant hills.

In the other fresco S. Peter, accompanied by S. John, is walking with stately and solemn step through the streets of a city, apparently unmindful that three miserable cripples, deformed and maimed — horrible objects, such as are constantly met with on the steps of a Roman church — are seeking his shadow in order that they may be healed. The figure in a red cap, to the right of S. Peter, is believed to be the portrait of Masolino.* The draperies in this fresco are treated with a breadth and dignity worthy of the highest class of sculpture, and are far in advance of the works of any contemporary painter.

The upper fresco on the wall to the left (No. 8), is in some respects the most important and interesting of the whole series.† It is unquestionably by Masaccio, and is a noble monument of his genius. The subject is taken from Matthew, ch. xvii., v. 27, where Christ says to Peter, "Go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take and give unto them (that receive tribute money) for me and thee." Three distinct incidents are represented in the fresco: Christ addressing those words to S. Peter, and the Apostle taking the money from the mouth

* Vasari used it to illustrate his biography of the painter.

† Included in the publications of the Arundel Society for 1861.

of the fish, and afterwards paying it to the receiver of the tribute. The three incidents are, however, so combined as to form part of one grand composition, unlike the scattered arrangement of the figures in the "Raising of Tabitha."

The whole interest is concentrated in the centre group, in which Christ is represented in the midst of his apostles and disciples. Before him stands the officer demanding payment of the tribute. The Saviour points towards the sea, and directs Peter to seek the money in the mouth of the fish. In the distance, to the spectator's left, the Apostle is seen bending down at the water's edge and obeying the commands of his Master. To the right, he is placing the tribute money in the extended hand of the officer. In the background is a landscape, with distant hills.

In this fine composition, Masaccio has shown a knowledge of the laws and practice of painting far in advance of his contemporaries, and such as to excite our wonder, when we consider the time in which he lived, and the state of the art at that period. The story is told in his usual simple and natural way. There is not a figure too much. He has not introduced any unnecessary details for mere effect. In the principal group the painter has only given action to the three persons who take a direct part in the incident—to Christ, S. Peter, and the officer. The collector of the tribute stands in the foreground, with his back to the spectator. There is more energy in his attitude and in his expression, than in those of the other two figures. With one hand

extended, he appears to insist upon the payment of his due, pointing with the other towards a building, which may be the office of customs, whilst he looks towards Christ as if appealing to His sense of justice and to His respect for the law. Our Lord points towards the sea, in the act of addressing Peter and telling him where to seek the money. The Apostle, with a natural gesture, denoting doubt and surprise, repeats the action of his Master, as if enquiring whether he had heard rightly. The other disciples* stand round as spectators. The interest which they take in what is passing is expressed in their countenances, but no action interferes with that of the principal persons of the group. The types of the heads chosen by the painter are noble and have a strong individuality. In the subordinate incident of the payment of the tribute money, which, although skilfully introduced, ought not to have formed part of the composition, the action of S. Peter is dignified and appropriate. The hills and trees forming the background are drawn with much boldness and freedom, and blend harmoniously with the figures. They show that Masaccio had rejected the conventional mode of representing a landscape, such as was practised by contemporary painters and even by some who lived long after him.

The figure and countenance of Christ are youthful, yet grave and majestic; His action full of dignity. The individuality of S. Peter is maintained through the whole series of

* Four figures to the left of Christ are without the glories round their heads, which mark the others as apostles. They may, therefore, represent mere spectators; but they make up the number twelve.

frescoes which Masaccio painted. He is represented as a man advanced in years, with a somewhat solemn expression of countenance, and his action is always in agreement with the character which the painter evidently wished to portray.

The figure to the spectator's right, with a broad forehead, denoting much strength of character, wearing an ample red cloak, which is thrown over his shoulder, is traditionally believed to be the portrait of Masaccio himself, painted, according to Vasari, by the aid of a mirror.*

The draperies in this fresco are remarkable for their broad and classic treatment, so different from the hard and angular conventional style of the fourteenth century. They are disposed in massive folds, and so arranged as to produce flowing and graceful lines, and at the same time to indicate the forms beneath. The general tone of the colour has been much lowered by time, and by the dirt and dust which cover the surface of the intonaco, and its original brightness and transparency have disappeared. Fortunately, however, the fresco has escaped the fate of so many great works in Italy, and has not been destroyed by repainting and injudicious restoration. In the reproduction published by the Arundel Society the colours are restored as nearly as possible to their original state. Masaccio's colouring is warm and ruddy (perhaps somewhat too red and hot in the high lights), and rich and dark in the shadows.

* The head, together with that of the last Apostle to the spectator's left, has been published by the Arundel Society in facsimile in their issue for 1861.

His peculiar method of giving the effect of relief and roundness by placing the high lights on the edge of his forms, is well illustrated in this fresco. He does not appear to have been followed in it by any other painter.

When we remember that this work was executed at the commencement of the fifteenth century, when the art of painting was still almost in its infancy, and when it was trammelled by the conventional forms and traditions upon which the followers and imitators of Giotto had founded their schools in different parts of Italy; when the laws of light and shade and of perspective were almost unknown; and when Masolino alone appears to have made any attempt to study from nature herself, and to portray her truthfully, the genius of Masaccio cannot but command our admiration. It is true that his master, Masolino, had pointed out the way to him, and had himself made considerable progress in a right direction. But the distance between them is so great that they almost seem to belong to a different age. Masaccio appears to have been the first painter to understand thoroughly the laws of composition, and of the distribution of light and shade, and the true principles of foreshortening. There remained indeed little for those who came after him to do, except to develop and to perfect what he had began. In the technical part of his art he was still deficient, and he wanted that intimate knowledge of the human frame and that power of portraying it, which painters who came after him could acquire by the study and imitation of models and examples which in Masaccio's time did not exist. But in the perception of the true aim and object of

painting; in the power of conveying his meaning in the simplest and yet most effective manner; in a lofty conception of character; and in that highest quality of the painter and the poet, which consists in the selection of the most elevated types, and which substitutes the noblest and yet most truthful rendering of nature for that which is vulgar, conventional, and false, Masaccio must be ranked amongst the greatest painters of any age or country. The fresco of the "Tribute-money" is not unworthy to be ranked with those of Raphael in the Vatican. This illustrious painter, who had diligently studied and frequently imitated the works of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, appears to have had this fresco in his mind when he designed the noble cartoon of "Christ delivering the keys to Peter." He adopted a somewhat similar composition, and the action he has given to Christ recalls that of the Saviour in the "Tribute-money." It may even be doubted whether, by introducing more energy into the attitude and expression of the Apostle, he has not shown a less dignified conception of his character than Masaccio.

Masaccio had attained the highest eminence in his art when he commenced the fresco which he did not live to finish. It is on the same side of the chapel as the one just described, and below it (No. 9). The subject, called by Vasari "The Raising of the King's Son," is taken from an apocryphal incident in the life of S. Peter, related in the Golden Legend. Theophilus, king of Antioch, having cast the Apostle into prison for preaching the gospel to the inhabitants of that city, S. Paul interceded in his behalf and represented to the king that Peter could cure the infirm and raise the dead. Theophilus

asked that his son, who had been dead for fourteen years, should be restored to life as the condition for the release of the Apostle. S. Peter having been brought out of his prison prayed over the body of the boy, who immediately lived again. Theophilus and his subjects were converted to Christianity by this miracle, and, building a church, they raised in the middle of it a splendid throne for the Apostle.*

This incident is represented in the fresco as taking place in the courtyard of a spacious building. To the left Theopnilus is seen enthroned, with his sceptre in his hand. Beneath him are seated his counsellors, one of whom turns towards him as if expressing astonishment at the miracle. Around the throne are various bystanders. S. Peter performs the miracle before the king, and in the midst of a crowd of spectators; S. Paul kneels by his side, and with joined hands offers up prayers for its success. The king's son, a naked boy on one knee upon a cloth spread upon the ground, raises his two hands in an attitude of fear and astonishment. Lying around him are human skulls and bones. In the right-hand corner of the fresco, a second incident is represented. S. Peter is seen seated on a throne, with his face turned towards heaven and his hands joined in prayer. Before him kneel three men, and around him are various figures, including three in Carmelite dress, probably portraits of friars

* According to some writers the subject of this fresco is the restoring to life of Eutichus, who had fallen from a window. (Acts, ch. xx.) According to others, S. Paul confounding Simon the Sorcerer by the miracle of restoring a dead youth to life.

in the convent to which the Church containing the Brancacci Chapel belonged.

Vasari tells us that Masaccio died whilst employed upon this fresco, and that many years afterwards it was finished by Filippino Lippi. This statement is fully borne out by the fresco itself. If we compare it with those executed entirely by Masaccio, we recognise in it two distinct styles and the work of two different artists. We can easily detect the parts which were painted by him. His peculiar reddish tone of colouring, and his mode of applying the high lights to the edges of his forms, contrast strongly with the more sober and rather grayish tints, and slighter modelling of Filippino Lippi. In the copy of the fresco published by the Arundel Society* the difference between the styles of the two painters is very distinctly marked, and we can readily recognise those parts which are by Masaccio. They are, to the left, the king, the two counsellors seated beneath him, and the centre group, as far as the figure in green immediately behind the king's son; and to the right, S. Peter enthroned, the three kneeling figures, and the groups on both sides of the Apostle. The remainder of the fresco, that is to say, the four figures behind the king, and nine forming the centre of the picture, together with the king's son, is by Filippino Lippi.†

* Arundel Society's Publications for 1863.

† Signor Cavalcaselle further attributes half the arm and the foot of S. Peter, and all but the head of the kneeling S. Paul to Filippino Lippi. (History of Italian Painting, vol. i., p. 537.)

It is impossible to determine how far Filippino may have modified Masaccio's original design, or whether he merely finished that which had already been sketched upon the wall, or in a working cartoon, by his predecessor. But the parts painted by him are influenced by a different spirit from that which guided Masaccio. Nearly three quarters of a century had elapsed since that great painter had died. During this interval, Ghirlandaio and other illustrious fresco painters of the Florentine school, had further developed the "modern style" which Masaccio had founded. They had been able to improve the technical processes, and had consequently advanced another step in the art. They had sought to give a more naturalistic character to their works, by introducing the portraits of eminent citizens of their time into their compositions, rather as adding an historical interest to their frescoes and giving to them a reality which mere ideal heads could not produce, than as forming a necessary part of the incident represented. But if that was their object they scarcely attained it. Interesting as these portraits undoubtedly are, the persons introduced appear to be present rather as unconcerned spectators of what is passing, than as taking any share in it; and this gives an unreal and artificial aspect to the composition. Masaccio, as we have seen, had, according to a tradition, introduced his own portrait and that of Masolino into his frescoes, but if such be really the case, they both appear as actors in the incident represented.*

* Giotto appears to have been the first painter, as far as we know, who introduced portraits of his contemporaries into his frescoes. That in the

In the fresco of the "Raising of the King's Son," Filippino Lippi has imitated Ghirlandaio. He has introduced a number of persons for the purpose of portraying many of his most distinguished friends and fellow citizens, and not because they were necessary to the story; but he has placed them in a natural way, and although the composition is somewhat crowded, the nature of the subject may have required this mode of treatment. The portraits are most vigorously and truthfully painted. Vasari has mentioned several of them.* The King's son was the painter Granacci, then a boy. The figure in the left-hand corner of the fresco is believed to represent Tommaso Soderini; by his side stands Luigi Pulci, the poet. Piero Guicciardini and Piero del Pugliese, two other eminent Florentines introduced into the composition, have not been satisfactorily identified. The portrait of Sandro Botticelli, which Vasari has inadvertently placed in this fresco, is to be found in the one on the opposite side, representing the Martyrdom of S. Peter.

Filippino Lippi did not possess the genius of Masaccio; he was inferior to that great painter in vigour and inventive power, and was more mannered, but he had much of his noble and elevated conception of character. His colouring is sometimes monotonous in his frescoes, and lacks that richness and brilliancy which distinguish his pictures on panel. This

Bargello contained, besides the portrait of Dante, those of some of the principal citizens of Florence, but there was a reason for introducing them.

* Three of them have been copied in facsimile for the Arundel Society by Signor Mariannecci.

may perhaps be traced to the influence of Fra Filippo or Sandro Botticelli. He is superior to Masaccio in certain technical qualities, in a knowledge of the true laws of perspective and of the distribution of light and shade, which give roundness and relief to the forms, and place the various objects represented in their relative positions. His draperies are broadly painted, and well disposed in graceful folds. On the whole, no painter of the time was more worthy to finish the work which Masaccio had begun, and to complete the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, than Filippino Lippi. It must not be forgotten that these celebrated paintings owe much of their renown to the subjects executed by him, and that a great part of the praise bestowed by Sir Joshua Reynolds on Masaccio, is really due to Lippi, whose works the English critic erroneously attributed to the former painter. The fresco of the "Raising of the King's Son," the combined work of these two great masters, is one of the noblest monuments of painting of the fifteenth century.

The subjects which follow the fresco just described are on the lower part of the two pilasters at the entrance to the chapel. That to the left of the spectator (No. 10) represents S. Paul addressing S. Peter, who is looking through the window of his prison; that to the right (No. 11) the Angel releasing the Apostle. They are both by Filippino Lippi, and are very characteristic examples of his genius and of his peculiar manner. The majestic figure of S. Paul addressing his brother apostle has been introduced, with little change, by Raphael into his magnificent cartoon of

"S. Paul Preaching at Athens," and again in the cartoon of "The Punishment of Elymas the Sorcerer." It is probable that Filippino Lippi himself was indebted for the original conception of the figure to Masaccio's fresco of S. Peter Preaching, which he had before him when painting in the Brancacci Chapel. There is much which is alike in the attitude and the arrangement of the drapery in both figures.

The only change which Raphael has made in Filippino Lippi's figure, is to raise both the Apostle's arms and to show both his hands. He did this in order to give additional vehemence and energy to the action, as more appropriate to an orator addressing a large concourse of persons, than the mere lifting of one hand, which would be the natural gesture in speaking to a single person.* It would, indeed, have been

* Sir J. Reynolds (Twelfth Discourse) points out that Raphael took two figures of S. Paul from the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, one for the cartoon of S. Paul Preaching at Athens, the other for that of the Apostle Chastising the Sorcerer Elymas. One of these figures is undoubtedly that in Filippino Lippi's fresco, which Reynolds has attributed to Masaccio; the other is either that by Masaccio in the subject representing S. Paul Preaching, or that in the Raising of the King's Son by Lippi. Sir Joshua adds, "that the most material alteration that is made in these two figures of S. Paul, is the addition of the left hands, which are not seen in the original. It is a rule that Raphael observed (and, indeed, ought never to be dispensed with) in a principal figure, to show both hands; that it should never be a question what is become of the other hand." Filippino Lippi has not observed this rule in his figure of S. Paul. Masaccio, however, has shown both the Apostle's hands. Of Filippino's figures of S. Paul, Reynolds further observes, "that they are so nobly conceived that perhaps it was not in the power even of Raphael himself to raise and improve them, nor has he attempted it; but he has had the address to change in some measure, without diminishing the grandeur of their character. He has substituted, in the place of a serene,

S. PAUL ADDRESSING S PETER FILIPPINO LIPPI

S. PAUL PREACHING. RAPHAEL.

difficult for even Raphael to improve upon this representation of the Apostle, which for its noble and dignified expression and action, for the broad and well disposed folds of the drapery, and for its rich yet sober colouring, may be ranked amongst the finest productions of the art.* In the fresco of the "Delivery of S. Peter from Prison," we are again reminded of Filippino's master, or more probably fellow pupil, Sandro Botticelli, by the dullish gray tone of the colouring, and by the graceful and somewhat effeminate expression and form of the angel who leads the Apostle by the hand, and by the youthful soldier, who sits at the prison gate deep in sleep, leaning upon his lance.

The last fresco of the series is also the undoubted work of Filippino Lippi (No. 12). It represents two distinct subjects, forming separate groups—the painter having followed in this respect the example set by his predecessors, and adopted a mode of composition which was rarely practised by painters of his time. The subject to the right of the spectator has been variously described by different writers. Vasari, in the first edition of his Lives of the Italian Painters, calls it "The dispute of Simon the Sorcerer with S. Peter before Nero," but it is now usually known as "S. Peter and S. Paul before the

composed dignity, that animated expression which was necessary to the more active employment he assigned them." As I have pointed out in the text, the difference lay in the fact that in Filippino Lippi's fresco the Apostle is represented as addressing a single individual, in Raphael's cartoon as addressing a multitude.

* A facsimile of the head of S. Paul has been published by the Arundel Society, in its issue for 1862.

Proconsul Felix." It is not, however, quite clear, what incident in the life of S. Peter the painter has intended to represent. The Roman judge appears to be stretching forth his hand as if he were in the act of ordering S. Peter to be led away to execution Before him stand the two Apostles and a person who appears to be their accuser, and with whom S. Peter, by the action of his hands, would seem to be disputing or remonstrating. Two counsellors are seated near the throne of the Proconsul, and five spectators complete the group.

Raphael appears to have borrowed his figure of Sergius Paulus, in the cartoon of "Elymas the Sorcerer Struck Blind," from that of the Proconsul in this fresco.*

In the other half of the fresco is represented the martyrdom of S. Peter, who is crucified with his head downwards, according to the tradition. The executioners are about to raise the cross to which the Apostle has been nailed. Nine spectators stand around. The background of the entire

* Sir J. Reynolds in his Twelfth Discourse observes: "the figure of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus (in Raphael's cartoon) is taken from the Felix of Masaccio (Lippi), though one is a front figure and the other seen in profile; the action is likewise somewhat changed; but it is plain Raphael had that figure in his mind. There is a circumstance, indeed, which I mention by the bye, which marks it very particularly. Sergius Paulus wears a crown of laurel; this is hardly reconcilable to strict propriety and the costume, of which Raphael was in general a good observer; but he found it so in Masaccio (Lippi), and he did not bestow so much pains in disguise as to change it. It appears to me an excellent practice, thus to suppose the figures which you wish to adopt in the works of those great painters to be statues; and to give, as Raphael has here given, another view, taking care to preserve all the spirit and grace you find in the original."

fresco is formed by a building, through an open archway in which is seen a distant landscape.

In this fresco Filippino Lippi has introduced his own portrait and those of his celebrated contemporaries, the painters Antonio Pollaiolo and Sandro Botticelli. Filippino has represented himself as a young man, in a dark cap, looking towards the spectator, and standing behind the throne of the Proconsul. Pollaiolo is the first standing figure to the right of the Proconsul, dressed in a high red cap and reddish mantle. Sandro Botticelli, in a blue cap and long violet cloak, is the last figure to the right of the group representing the martyrdom of S. Peter.

This fresco, fine as it undoubtedly is, and not undeserving of the praise which it has received from Italian writers on art, is inferior in many respects to those of Masaccio. It lacks the unity and concentration of subject, and that quiet and earnest dignity, which characterise the compositions of that great painter. But the figures are for the most part nobly conceived; the drawing of the nude vigorous and correct; the action truthful and appropriate; the draperies broad and well arranged. The colour is less rich and ruddy than that of Masaccio, but perhaps more agreeable to the eye. It is laid on with a much lighter brush, and in this respect contrasts with the careful and somewhat heavy modelling of the earlier painter. Nevertheless, by a skilful disposition of light and shade, Filippino has given relief and roundness to his figures, which stand out boldly

from the surface. The heads have that portrait-like and individual character which distinguishes all the works of the painter.

Such are the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel. Although, considering their age and the injury and neglect to which they have been exposed, they have been fairly preserved, yet the accidents to which such monuments are constantly and, perhaps, unavoidably liable, rendered it very desirable that accurate copies of them—copies which could convey some idea of the beauty and character of the original works—should be made.* Already, many years ago, a part of the Church of the Carmine, containing some of the most remarkable and important of the works of Giotto, was destroyed by fire.† The same fate might befall the Brancacci Chapel. The lamentable destruction, only a few months ago, of two of the grandest and most precious pictures of the Venetian School, the great altar-piece by Gian Bellini, and the "Death of S. Peter Martyr," by Titian, should be a warning to us. Now that the principal ecclesiastical edifices in Italy which contain works of art have been placed under the care of public bodies and the local authorities, it may be hoped that proper precautions

* Engravings and outlines from these frescoes have been published at various times. The most complete collection is that published by Lasinio, at Florence, about thirty years ago, but it gives a very inadequate idea of the originals.

† Only one or two fragments of Giotto's frescoes were saved—amongst them the fine heads of two Apostles, which were purchased at the sale of Mr. Samuel Rogers, and are now in the National Gallery.

will be taken to protect and preserve them, and to guard these national treasures from unnecessary risk and wanton injury, and especially from the damage to which they have been exposed through the barbarous ignorance and carelessness of those in whose custody they have hitherto been.* But the Arundel Society has done well, and has fulfilled one of the principal objects for which it was founded, in having copies executed and published of works which hold so high a place in the history of art, and have exercised so marked an influence upon the development of painting.

A. H. LAYARD.

* Some of the finest pictures and frescoes in Italy, including those of the Brancacci Chapel, have received irreparable injury from the nails which the priests have been in the habit of driving into them for the purpose of "decorating" the church with those vulgar tawdry hangings that mark a feast day. The Italian Government has recently directed the removal of some of the most important pictures from churches and suppressed convents to public museums.

THE END.

Giorgione's Madonna and Child

AT

CASTELFRANCO.

FIRST PUBLICATION, 1879.

Giorgione's Madonna and Child.

IORGIO BARBARELLI, of Castelfranco, better known as Giorgione, may be taken as the representative Master of the Venetian School. His rich and glowing colouring, and the brilliancy and light which are predominant in his works, show the influence of Giovanni Bellini, but Giorgione was the first Venetian painter who gave full play to the national love of life and colour. There is a flavour of Carpaccio's work in Giorgione's pictures, but there is more freedom and more

grace in his works than is found in those of the earlier master. At the same time it is impossible to deny that some of the indescribable charm of Carpaccio's work—perhaps better described as "quaintness" than in any other way—is wanting in Giorgione. As the leader and founder of what may be called the "Gorgeous" epoch of Venetian Art, Giorgione occupies a place by himself, closely followed by his contemporary and fellow-student, Titian. It should be noted, however, that, while Giorgione's progress was rapid, that of Titian was far more slow and laborious, and it is perhaps not too much to say that the effect of the different ways in which their respective talents developed is reflected in their works. The brilliancy of Giorgione's work and the beauty of his colouring were assimilated by Titian, who, in his work done after the other's early death, seems to have combined them with his own more dignified style.

Giorgione was born at Castelfranco, on the mainland near Venice, about 1477, being, it is said, the illegitimate son of a member of the family of the Barbarelli. It is difficult to fix any date when his work first began to be appreciated by the Venetians; all the more so, as works formerly attributed to him, and from the style of which some approximate date as to the time of their execution might perhaps be hazarded, are, under the fierce ordeal of modern art criticism, steadily decreasing in number. It cannot even be asserted of the picture, which is the subject of this brief notice, that it is known when Giorgione painted it, though there are sufficient data connected with it to enable us to hazard a conjecture.

Castelfranco, where we find this picture, is a town but rarely reached by the ordinary traveller to Venice; but it

VIRGIN AND CHILD, BY GIORGIONE, AT CASTELFRANCO.

[*Size of Chromolithograph, 2 ft. 2 in. by 1 ft 7 in.*]

is well worthy of a visit, if only to see this single work. The town itself is one of those half pathetic, wholly interesting records of what Venice once was. St. Mark's Lion still keeps guard over the old gateway; but the walls of the old town, which dates from 1169, are ruinous, and the city within them looks lifeless and deserted. The newer town, outside the old walls, is the ordinary Italian country town. Many of the houses bear traces of fresco, now rapidly crumbling to ruins, reminding us of Bassano and the neighbouring villages. At Castelfranco, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, lived Tuzio Costanzo, one of those professional soldiers who with their adherents did so much to carve out the history of those times. His son, Matteo, followed in his father's footsteps, and became a condottiere in the service of the Venetian republic. But he died quite young at Ravenna, in 1504, and his father caused this altarpiece to be painted by Giorgione as a votive offering in memory of his son.

The question of the date of this picture is the more perplexing, as the frescoes which, tradition says, Giorgione painted at the same time, have long ago disappeared with the old church which contained them; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that it was painted shortly after the death of Matteo Costanzo.

The picture is painted on panel, is 6 ft. 7 in. by 4 ft. 9 in., and is now in the Church of Castelfranco. The composition is dignified, but full of grace and colour. In the centre, the Blessed Virgin sits on a high throne with the Infant Saviour on her lap. The lower step of the draped throne rises high above the chequered pavement on which stand S. Francis and S. Liberale:

S. Francis, on the right of the picture, pointing to his stigmata and robed in the habit of his order; S. Liberale, on the left, in full armour, with one foot slightly raised by a low step in the pavement, his helmet on his head and holding a glove in one hand; in the other a standard bearing a white cross on a red ground. The Virgin holds the Saviour on one arm, and rests the other on a robe support of her throne. She is robed in a green robe and a flowing crimson upper garment. The Infant Saviour is sitting on a white cloth on the Virgin's lap, looking towards S. Liberale; an embroidered carpet falls from the foot of the throne, and on the front of the lower step are the arms of the Costanzi, placed, whether by accident or design, out of the centre. At the back of the throne is a wall draped with dark red as high as the standing saints in front, over which appears what is probably the most exquisite piece of landscape ever painted by Giorgione—a lovely Italian spring morning, with all its dewy freshness. On the left is a square tower; on the right a ruined Roman temple; and, between them, an airy, joyous landscape, sloping down to the shore of a placid lake—painted evidently by a man who knew well the plains of Lombardy and appreciated to the full their beauty. The beautiful Madonna is supposed to be the portrait of her whom Giorgione addressed in the lines he wrote on the back of the panel by way of signature, now obliterated,—

Cara Cecilia,
Vieni t' affretta;
Il tuo t' aspetta
Giorgio.....

There is a quiet calm about the whole picture, which

distinguishes it from many other works by Giorgione, notably from the Concert in the Pitti at Florence; but the transparency of the atmosphere and the beauty of the landscape, as well as its character, forcibly recall the picture in the Manfrini Palace, Venice, said, but probably without authority, to contain the portraits of Giorgione and his wife.

The S. Liberale of the Castelfranco picture has been by some supposed to be the portrait of Giorgione himself; by others, that of Matteo Costanzo. The latter conjecture seems to be the more accurate. One reason for so thinking is, that the effigy of Costanzo in the cemetery of Castelfranco closely follows the armour represented in Giorgione's picture. This point, however, can be readily investigated by those who choose to do so, the original study for the S. Liberale being in the National Gallery; it is painted on panel 1ft. 3in. by 10½in., and is well worthy of close examination.

So many pictures have been erroneously assigned to Giorgione, that it is difficult to disentangle his actual work, and it is probable that his reputation would stand even higher than it does, were those works that are Giorgionesque clearly separated from those by his own hand. The estimation in which Giorgione was held by his fellow-citizens, may be judged from the fact, that in 1506 he was commissioned, by the Municipality of Venice, to paint in fresco one of the frontages of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the other being assigned to Titian; these frescoes have now disappeared in common with most others in Venice. It is tolerably certain that a large portion of Giorgione's works were painted in fresco; the present scarcity of such works in Venice may account for the

paucity of those that may with certainty be assigned to him. Reference should be made for full information respecting his works to Messrs. Crowe & Cavallaselle's "History of Painting in North Italy," vol. ii.

Giorgione died in 1511, and his remains were, in 1638, removed to Castelfranco.

The water-colour drawing from which the chromo-lithograph under notice is taken was made by Herr Kaiser. The printing in colour was done by Messrs. Storch & Kramer, of Berlin.

WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

THE LIFE OF POPE PIUS II.

THE

LIFE OF POPE PIUS II

AS

ILLUSTRATED BY PINTURICCHIO'S FRESCOES

IN THE PICCOLOMINI LIBRARY

AT SIENA,

BY

THE REV. G. W. KITCHIN, M.A.,

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

WITH TEN ENGRAVINGS FROM THE FRESCOES

BY PROFESSOR GRÜNER.

PRINTED FOR THE ARUNDEL SOCIETY.

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ÆNEAS SILVIUS BARTOLOMEUS PICCOLOMINI, POPE PIUS II.

INTRODUCTION.

The noble houſe of the Piccolomini, which had been driven out of Siena and greatly impoveriſhed by the political changes of the fourteenth century, was reſtored to home and wealth by the influence of Pope Pius II. Among the moſt notable of thoſe Piccolomini who owed to him their renewed proſperity was Franceſco, whom he had made Cardinal, and who eventually became Pope as Pius III. His ſenſe of gratitude and love of diſplay have given us the ſplendid chamber called the Piccolomini Library, and the ten freſcoes from the life of Pius II. which adorn the walls. For Franceſco had much of that ſelf-eſteem and vain-glory which, Dante tells us, characterized the Sieneſe of his day :—

> " Ed io diſſi al poeta : Or fu giammai
> Gente sì vana come la Saneſe ?
> Certo non la Franceſca sì d'aſſai."
>
> *Inferno*, xxix. 121.

It was ſomething of this vanity which moved Cardinal Franceſco to make this great family monument ; he firſt

erected a rich chapel in his uncle's memory, againſt the left ſide of the nave of Siena Cathedral; and, this done, he ſhortly afterwards, in 1495, ſet to work on a Library by the ſide of the Chapel, in which he placed the valuable collection of books and MSS. bequeathed to him by his kinſman. Included among theſe were the originals of the Pontiff's own writings and memoirs. The whole of this collection has now diſappeared, and the chamber contains nothing but ſplendid ſervice-books, intended for the uſe of the Cathedral.

On this building the Cardinal determined to expend ſuch care and artiſtic ſkill as might make it a worthy monument of his patron, the reſtorer of his family, the benefactor and lover of Siena. Accordingly, he entruſted to a Sieneſe ſculptor, Lorenzo di Mariano (commonly called la Marrina), the entrance and outer decoration in marble; the bronze doors were deſigned and executed in 1497 by Antonio Ormanni; the interior wood-carving, done in 1496, was by the hand of Antonio Barili. And laſtly he called in Bernardino Pinturicchio, then in the height of his fame as a decorative artiſt, to adorn the walls and ceiling with freſco-work, ſo as to render the whole interior as rich and ſplendid as the vaineſt Sieneſe could deſire. The contract between the Cardinal and the painter, lately diſcovered at Siena by Signor Milaneſi, offers ſo many points of intereſt that it will not be amiſs if we here give a full tranſlation of the old Italian document :—

"In nomine Domini Amen. Be it known to all and "every who ſhall read or ſee this preſent writing, that the "moſt reverend lord Cardinal of Siena this day, June 29,

" 1502, doth allot and contract out to M. Bernardino,
" called el Pentorichio, a painter of Perugia, the adorning
" of a Library in the Cathedral of Siena, on the ſubſcribed
" conditions and agreements: viz. That during ſuch time as
" this painting ſhall be in progreſs, he ſhall not undertake
" any other work of painting of any kind on panel or wall,
" whether in Siena or elſewhere, whereby the decorating
" of the ſaid Library may be deferred or delayed.

" Alſo, he ſhall be held and bound to work at the vault-
" ing of the ſaid Library with thoſe fantaſies, colours, and
" diviſions, which he ſhall judge moſt handſome, beautiful,
" and lively, in good, fine, agreeable colours, in the faſhion
" and with deſigns now-a-days ſtyled the 'Groteſque,' with
" the grounds varied, as ſhall be deemed moſt fair and
" handſome.

" Alſo, he ſhall be held and bound, if in the centre of
" the vaulting there ſhould be no coat of the arms of the
" moſt reverend Cardinal depicted, there to draw ſuch an
" one, rich and fine, of ſuch dimenſion as ſhall be deemed
" duly proportionate, in accordance with the size and lofti-
" neſs of the vaulting. And if ſuch coat be already de-
" picted, then to paint it afreſh; and if it be of marble, to
" colour it as aforeſaid, to gild it, and make it fine.

" Alſo, he ſhall be bound, beſide the vaulting, to make
" in freſco ten Hiſtories, wherein, as ſhall be given him by
" way of memorial and note, he ſhall depict the life of
" the holy memory of Pope Pius, with ſuch ſuitable per-
" ſonages, geſtures, and dreſſes, as may be needful and fit-
" ting to expreſs the ſame, in gold, azure, ultramarine,
" enamel-blue, azure-greens, and other pleaſing colours,

" ſuch as may anſwer to the outlay, ſtory, place, and all " the reſt.

" Alſo he ſhall be bound, in reſpect of the aforeſaid " figures in freſco, to retouch when dry and refiniſh in " good colours the fleſh, raiment, ſhades, trees, landſcapes, " cities, atmoſpheres, and borderings, and fringes.

" Alſo when he ornaments the middle lunette above " each picture, he ſhall do it in figures or whatſoever elſe he " may chooſe, or, it may be, blend it in his landſcape, or " otherwiſe, as he ſhall deem beſt.

" Alſo he ſhall be bound to make the pilaſters which " divide and ſurround the ſpaces for the painted hiſtories, " the capitals, cornices, and baſes, in work of gold, and " likewiſe the ornamentation which ſerves as a bordering " thereto, in good and fine colours, as may be beſt and moſt " handſome.

" Alſo, he ſhall be bound to draw all the deſigns of the " hiſtories with his own hand, in cartoon and on the wall, " to paint all the heads of the figures in freſco with his own " hand, and to retouch them when dry, and finiſh them " to their perfection.

" Alſo he ſhall be bound to make an oblong place from " pilaſter to pilaſter under the hiſtories, wherein ſhall be " put an epitaph (*epithaphio*) or true indication of the hiſtory " painted above, and this may be in verſe or in proſe ; he " ſhall alſo paint in the baſes of theſe columns and pilaſ- " ters the arms of the moſt reverend Monſignore.

" And foraſmuch as the aforeſaid Meſſer Bernardino " hath agreed to make the vaulting of the required perfec- " tion, and the ten pictures of ſuch richneſs and excellence

" as is fitting, the moſt reverend Cardinal promiſes him one " thouſand ducats of gold 'di camara,' in the following " way, viz.: that firſt of all the Cardinal ſhall cauſe him " to receive in Venice two hundred ducats of gold 'di " 'camara,' that therewith he may buy gold and neceſſary " colours, and ſhall alſo arrange for his receiving in Peru- " gia another hundred like ducats, to be uſed at his own " freewill and for his own purpoſes, and to pay for the coſt " of moving his furniture and prentices (garzoni) to Siena. " For which three hundred ducats beforehand diſburſed, " Meſſer Bernardino ſhall be bound to give good and ſuffi- " cient caution that he will expend them on the work. " And ſhould God order things otherwiſe, he ſhall make " good and reſtore the money wholly to the ſaid Cardinal; " it being underſtood that, if he ſhould have done any part " of the work, a deduction *pro rata* ſhall be made. The " reſt his executors ſhall be bound to reſtore wholly to the " aforeſaid moſt reverend Cardinal without any exception.

" Alſo, on the completion of each picture the ſaid " Cardinal in Siena ſhall pay fifty ducats of gold 'di " 'camara,' and ſo throughout. And when all are com- " pletely finiſhed, then he ſhall pay him the two hundred " remaining ducats at the end of the work and painting.

" Alſo, the ſaid moſt reverend Cardinal promiſes to the " aforeſaid Meſſer Bernardino a dwelling at Siena rent free, " during ſuch time as he ſhall be painting the ſaid Library, " and to lend him (for that purpoſe) a houſe hard by the " Cathedral: alſo, wood for ſcaffoldings, lime alſo and ſand " enough.

" And ſince the ſaid Meſſer Bernardino, while working

" at the ſaid Library in Siena, will need grain, wine, and " oil ; for the ſame price at which he might buy it from " others, he ſhall be bound to take it, on account of, and " in part payment for, the work and painting he ſhall do, " from the factor of the Cardinal.

" And for the obſerving of the above matters the afore- " ſaid parties, to wit, the moſt reverend Monſignore, binds " himſelf perſonally and in his goods and heirs, his move- " ables and fixtures, preſent and to be, that he will wholly " obſerve and keep with the aforeſaid Meſſer Bernardino " all the clauſes and conventions herein named and ex- " preſſed, and will pay him wholly the ſaid amount of one " thouſand gold ducats in gold 'di camara,' in the man- " ner and at the times above ſpecified.

" And the ſaid Meſſer Bernardino, on the other part, " promiſes and binds himſelf wholly to obſerve whatever " is above contained with reſpect to the aforeſaid moſt " reverend Cardinal, and to give due guarantee for the three " hundred ducats of gold 'di camara,' to be advanced to him " as is ſtated above : binding himſelf alſo perſonally and in " his goods and heirs, his moveables and fixtures, preſent and " to be, that in each and every part he will wholly obſerve " and do all things agreed on promiſed and aſſented to, " undertaking all in good faith and without any reſervations.

" And I, F. Cardinal of Siena aforeſaid, am content, " and do promiſe as above ; and to aſſure the truth, have " written theſe lines with my own hand, on the year, day, " and month aforeſaid.

" I, M. Bernardino aforeſaid, am content and do " promiſe, as is above contained, and to aſſure the truth

" have written theſe lines with my own hand, on the year,
" day, and month aforeſaid.

" 29 June, 1502."

[Vaſari (ed. G. Milaneſi, Firenze, 1878), iii. p. 519.]

It ſtrikes the reader of the above careful contract that it is an agreement with a houſe-decorator rather than with an artiſt; and in fact in that age the artiſt was far more uſually employed to decorate than in later times: the Cardinal's eye is fixed on the ſplendour of the work to be done, the brightneſs of the colouring, the prominence and importance of the coats of arms, the brilliancy with which every inch of the ſurface of the library is to be covered; the originality or genius to be expended on it by the painter ſeems to be left in the background. He knows that he has ſecured an effective man; he does not truſt him too far, but will pay him piece-meal, as the work is finiſhed; he has an eye alſo to his own intereſts in detail, as is ſeen in the clauſe which compels the painter and his aſſiſtants to buy their corn and wine and oil from the prelate's factor in part-payment for their work. Not leſs ſingular is the extreme care taken to ſecure Pinturicchio's own handiwork; the cartoons, the actual wall-paintings, the retouching of the important parts when dry, muſt all be by the maſter himſelf; none of the aſſiſtants, among whom was the youthful Raphael, might take any important or reſponſible part in the work. And the Cardinal was doubtleſs quite right: Pinturicchio, though perhaps hardly a great artiſt or man of genius, was an admirable decorator, ſkilled in the technicalities of wall-painting,

with its exuberance, even extravagance, of ornament and colouring. He was, too, a maſter of architectural drawing, and, as we ſee from theſe freſcoes, very fond of introducing buildings into his work, ſo as to give play to his cleverneſs in perſpective and proportion. In fact the freſcoes ſhow in the grouping and plan of action the predominance of this architectural formality; though perhaps ſomewhat deficient in original thought or fertility of invention, they have gold in plenty, and gilt ſtucco in raiſed work on roof and wall; they are "groteſque," as was agreed, encruſted, ſplendid, like the ſides and vaulting of ſome brightly illumined cave. Much of this was done by Pinturicchio's aſſiſtants, of whom he made unſparing uſe; and it is characteriſtic of him that, though he employed more "garzoni" than any painter of his time, he nevertheleſs founded no ſchool of his own; no one would venture to ſpeak of him as Raphael's teacher. His cotemporaries at Siena declared that his execution, the technical part of his painting, was better than Perugino's, though he was far beneath that great maſter in ſenſe and prudence; for he was a fellow, they added, "inſipidi ſermonis," a flaccid and contemptible chatterer. It is not by ſuch men that ſchools of painting or anything elſe are formed.

Pinturicchio's true place in the Umbrian ſchool, and his characteriſtic merits and defects as a painter, have been well defined by Sir Henry Layard.[1] Though we cannot rank him very high among artiſts, yet he is far from deſerving Vaſari's bitter and violent depreciation; Vaſari,

[1] "The Freſcoes by Bern. Pinturicchio at Spello," by A. H. Layard, M.P., Arundel Society, 1858 (v. pp. 11, 12).

indeed, can find no good thing in him, and if there are beauties in his work which he cannot help recognizing he ſecures his theory by always attributing them to the aſſiſtants, and more eſpecially to Raphael. The Piccolomini Library, with all its faults, is ſtill a great work; and it ſhould not be forgotten that it gives us the earlieſt example of true hiſtorical freſco. Hitherto there had been no attempt to depict a ſecular hiſtory, no ſeries of events, no portraiture on the walls of a ſtriking biography. In ſuch freſcoes as had touched on men's lives, religious ſubjects had hitherto almoſt alone found place: they give us miracles, preachings, ſcriptural or ſaintly incidents, things all tending to edification; the hiſtorical freſco, properly ſo called, may be ſaid to take its riſe from the Piccolomini Library. The biographical and modern character of the work gives it a certain ſplendid unity of purpoſe, which makes the place one of the moſt magnificent monuments in exiſtence, equalled perhaps only by the famous Court Church at Innſpruck, built in memorial of Maximilian I., and filled with his ſuperb and empty tomb. Yet it has great faults; the colouring is not always harmonious and ſatisfactory, there is a ſtiffneſs of deſign which is academical and diſappointing, and far from being concealed by the laviſh character of the decoration.

After he had ſigned the contract Pinturicchio waſted little time; during the autumn and winter of 1502 he made his preparations, gathered his workmen and aſſiſtants together, and removed his family to Siena; in the next ſpring he was hard at work in the building, beginning with the ceiling, which he appears to have completed by the

autumn of 1503; for the Piccolomini coat of arms, ſo anxiouſly provided for in the contract, is ſurmounted by a cardinal's hat, whence it is fairly argued that it muſt have been finiſhed before the painter's patron, Cardinal Franceſco, placed on his brow the papal tiara; otherwiſe the triple crown rather than the red hat would have been depicted on the roof. Now Cardinal Franceſco became Pope, as Pius III., on September 21, 1503, dying three weeks later; he may therefore have juſt ſeen the ceiling in its ſplendour, though the freſcoes on the walls were hardly begun at the time of his death.

On his death the works were ſtopped for a time, and the contract being thus in a meaſure broken we find Pinturicchio undertaking other work, and ſupporting himſelf by his bruſh in other places. The late Pontiff's will, however, had expreſſed a wiſh that the library deſigns ſhould be fully carried out: and his two brothers, acting as his executors, after a delay of rather more than a year, again ſet the work on foot. From that time, in ſpite of minor hindrances, it went on ſteadily, until after about three years' labour, in 1507 Pinturicchio completed the laſt of the compartments, and handed his maſterpiece over to the Piccolomini family. He received the final payment under the contract in January, 1509.

I.

AENEAS . SILVIVS . PICCOLOMINEVS . NATVS . EST . PATRE SILVIO . MATRE . VICTORIA . XVIII . OCTOBR . MCCCCV . CORSIANI . IN . FVNDIS . GENTILITIIS . BASILEAM . AD . CONCILIVM . CONTENDENS . VI . TEMPESTATIS . IN . LIBYAM . PROPELLITVR.

"THE perſon who brings you my letter is a youth of "Siena, by name Æneas Silvius, of an honourable family, "and very dear to me, not only becauſe he has followed "my teaching for two years, but alſo by reaſon of the "keenneſs of his intellect, and his graceful ſtyle; his "manners alſo are polite and cultured."

In theſe kindly words did the great ſcholar Filelfo addreſs his friend Niccolò Arzimboldi on behalf of the needy young ſcion of the Piccolomini, then twenty-ſix years old, who was eager to make his way in the world, and to ſee what fame and gain his wit and ſcholarſhip might win. With the reſt of the Sieneſe ariſtocracy the family of the Piccolomini had been exiled from the city after the revolution which gave the government to the popular party; they withdrew to the little village of Corſignano, where they lived long in humble eſtate, ſcarce allaying their poverty with their pride. To the repreſentatives of the race, Silvio and Victoria, came, in 1405, a firſt-born ſon, whom they named Enea Silvio Bartolomeo;

he ſeems to have completely dropped the third of his Christian names. As the parents were poor and their family large, this eldeſt ſon, when he grew up, was ſent forth to learn the law, that he might thus have ſomewhat wherewith to earn his bread. But in the ſtrong antagoniſm then exiſting between the ſtiff mediæval ſtudy of the law, and the graceful and attractive claſſical literature, Æneas Silvius, like Pirckheimer and Ulrich von Hutten after him, could not long endure the uncultured ſtyle and quibbling arguments of the lawyers; he eagerly turned to the new fields of knowledge, in which ſo much was to be done, and abandoned Inſtitutes and Pandects for the maſterpieces of Roman letters. And ſo, in 1431, we find him a zealous ſtudent of Cicero, Seneca, and Horace, maſter of the art of writing neat heroics and lyrics, with a happy knack of admirable Latin proſe, and that ingenuity, intelligence, and obſervation which make the orator. As yet, however, no opportunity of exerciſing theſe gifts had come; nor did his friend Filelfo ſeem able to find him any lucrative employment.

At this time Æneas Silvius was very pale of face, and his features were handſome, his eyes bright and merry, though when kindled by anger they were terrible; his well-formed mouth told of a kindly, ſelf-indulgent nature, a flexible and receptive temperament, with ſingular powers of argument and winning perſuaſion. He was a man indeed of few convictions and many impreſſions, quick, not deep, kindly rather than affectionate, many-ſided and clever, not a genius or man of high nobility and elevation of character. His letters leave the impreſſion of much

amiability, of inſincerity joined, ſingularly enough, with a complete frankneſs as to his own conduct. It has been ſaid of him that "he ever arreſts our attention, though he never "wins our eſteem or excites our enthuſiaſm;" and this is true, in ſo far as he was a man of many and varied intereſts, in whom the ſtrangely-interwoven civilization of the renaiſſance clearly mirrored itſelf. For he was ſingularly receptive and ſenſitive, and worthy of the praiſe given him that he was "the firſt modern man in hiſtory . . . in him all is "genuine modern enjoyment, not a reflexion of antiquity" (Burckhardt, ii. 32), "a manifold man, in whom many "lines of thought and deſire inceſſantly croſſed one another." This repreſentative of the age, who in more than one reſpect is like his cotemporary Philip of Commines, in his contempt for the common rules of morality, in his keen inſight into the world he lived with, in his love for the picturesque and the ſtriking, whether in cities or on mountain ſides, leaves on us a painful ſenſe of inſincerity, ſtrangely at variance with the official praiſes of the Papal hiſtorian and panegyriſt, Platina, who tells us that Pius II. was "truthful, a man of integrity, open, free "from all making-up or feigning." We know that as Pope he very frankly admitted his own early ſhortcomings, nor did he encourage thoſe falſe flatteries from others which he had formerly ſo plentifully employed. He was in many ways a ſingularly intereſting figure; yet, to take him all in all, we muſt conclude that the more heroic and ſterling qualities which make greatneſs were lacking, and that ambition, joined with ſelf-indulgence, filled far too large a part of the canvas of his buſy life. In ſtature

Æneas was rather below the middle height, of a well-built figure and ſpare habit; as he would have himſelf confeſſed, this ſhortneſs was the privilege of his family, indicated by their very name, the Piccolomini, the "little men."

Such a man was Æneas Silvius, when, a few months after he had received Filelfo's friendly letter, he came into communication with Domenico Capranica, Biſhop of Fermo, who was paſſing through Siena on his way to the Council of Baſel. A little while before his death Martin V. had promiſed the Cardinalate to Capranica, by a creation "in petto," and had, as far as he could, bound his ſucceſſor to announce him as Cardinal; as however his ſucceſſor, Eugenius IV., refuſed to do this, being a friend of the Colonnas, he filled with a ſenſe of wrong, and in high diſcontent, was ſetting off to ſupport the conciliar revolt againſt the Roman ſee. Having heard of the gifts of young Æneas, and needing a ſcholar handy with the pen, he had an interview with him, and, pleaſed with his bearing, appointed him his ſecretary. In his patron's ſuite, Æneas ſet forth at once, going on board ſhip at Piombino, the port neareſt to Siena; and, as fourteen years later he writes to his old comrade of theſe days, Piero da Noceto: —"We made the circuit of Corſica" . . . "a tempeſt al-"moſt wrecked us on the Libyan ſtrand." Still "do I "remember well what wretched nights we paſſed," the poor ſecretaries, "among the ſeamen at Spezzia and "Porto Venere, and how, when choked with the bilge-"ſtench from the hold, in ſpite of the ſtorm we choſe to "ſleep on deck rather than under cover. Together we "ſaw Genoa, mother-city of the Ligurians; we climbed

" the Apennines, and after croſſing the Po, viſited Milan;
" we ſcaled the heaven-towering Alps, and croſſed that
" dreadful Devil's Bridge, and Lucern Lake, and the
" Helvetian plains, until we came to Baſel."

The firſt freſco depicts the cavalcade juſt ſetting forth for this land-journey from Genoa. The ſea is behind them, ſtill beaten with the ſtorms which had beſet their paſſage; and under the rain-clouds we diſcern the weſtern ſide of the bay, covered with houſes, probably juſt below the point on which now ſtands the Doria Palace with its gardens. The foreground is ſkilfully and beautifully filled in with figures; the complaint as to the lack of movement and life in Pinturicchio's works finds no place here; the cheerful ſetting forth of the ſtorm-toſſed company, glad once more to feel the ſolid ground beneath their feet, is well expreſſed by the two bright figures of gentlemen on horſeback in the front; the ſolemnity of the churchmen in the centre of the piece is in admirable contraſt with the animation of the nearer riders; nothing could be more clever than the arrangement of the piece, which is ſo deviſed that while Capranica on his mule leads the proceſſion forwards, he is completely eclipſed by Æneas, who,—riding with eaſy grace a ſplendid white horſe in the very foreſront of the picture,—attracts the whole attention of the ſpectator. The freedom of his ſeat on his ſpirited charger contraſts well with the heavy bearing of the eccleſiaſtics on their plodding beaſts. They have too a ſomewhat grim and careworn look, while Æneas is in the bloom of happy youth, a beautiful figure; his dreſs and jewelled cap beſpeak his noble birth, and give no hint of the poor

humaniſt-adventurer; the ſmile on his lips, the bright glance of his eyes, enliſt our ſympathy, and ſecure our intereſt in the fortunes of the hero. In his hand he daintily holds a little tablet, indicating, as delicately as poſſible, his poſition as ſecretary. He is ſeconded with much artiſtic ſkill by another and an equally graceful figure of a young man, riding a lively bay, and leading a greyhound in leaſh; it would be pleaſant to believe that this ſecond perſonage is the brother-ſecretary, Piero da Noceto. Under their feet ſpring the graſſes and flowers of the early year, ſymbols of youth and paſſion; while the rainbow acroſs the ſtormy ſky tells that the worſt is over, and that the ſun again begins to ſhine. The whole freſco is radiant with movement, brightneſs, and hope. So beautiful is it, both in general effect and in the poetic management of details, that Vaſari, with his uſual diſlike of Pinturicchio, attributes the whole of it to the hand of Raphael. It has ſo little of that academic formality which marks the ſeries, that we are tempted almoſt to believe that it had an independent origin; yet ſurely it were fair, in the abſence of proof to the contrary, to ſay that here at leaſt Pinturicchio, though doubtleſs helped and inſpired by his famous "garzone," did ſtill tranſcend himſelf, and, keeping to his agreement and his duty, both conceived the piece and painted it with his own hand.

It may here be noticed in paſſing that in all the freſcoes the line of ſight is taken at about two-thirds of the way up the picture; an arrangement which, while it enables the painter more eaſily to fill the tall ſurfaces he has to deal with, places the ſpectator in a wrong poſition, and makes the

whole of the architectural features appear out of perſpective to one who looks at them from the floor of the Library.

This gallant ſetting-forth for Baſel, which to the eyes of young Æneas offered ſo good an occaſion of ſeeing the world and winning a poſition in it, was in fact a ſtep tending directly away from the true goal of his life. Had any one told him at this time that his ſhould be a great career as a churchman, he would have turned away in diſguſt. A ſecular, not a clerical life, was now the aim of his ambition. In a letter, written ſoon after his admiſſion to deacon's orders, he tells us that a while back there was nothing he would ſo much have abhorred as to be counted among the clergy. For, with all his failings, he was a man of a ſenſitive conſcience and of religious impulſes; ſo that the reſtraints of the clerical calling would have galled him; the contraſt between his love of pleaſure and his ſenſe of duty would have cauſed too painful a conflict. So now he was ſetting-out to enjoy the world; his moral nature had no high ideal, and though he ſcorned the groſſer vices which prevailed in Germany, he was full of eagerneſs for the more refined pleaſures of life, and little curious to draw too ſtrict a line betwixt the lawful and the unlawful. There are, in all literature, few more ſhameleſs things than the letters in which he commends one of his baſtard ſons to his father's love and charge; he expends on the poor child the choiceſt common-places of Latin proſe morality. And apart from this worſe ſide of his character, Æneas was on other grounds averſe to the churchman's life. The time was one of new openings for intelligent youths; and he felt in himſelf the qualities which ought to enſure ſuc-

ceſs. He was good-looking, quick-witted, full of obſervation, patient, induſtrious; his taſte was good and cultivated, and his ſkill in compoſition, ſo important a matter in thoſe days, was almoſt unequalled. The Ciceronian writer might hope for everything, and could afford to deſpiſe the dulneſs or ſcholaſtic pedantry of the clergy. The career of letters opened out new viſtas in every direction; and men like Æneas ſaw glimpſes of a cultured comfortable life, in which princes and cities vied in their kindneſs to the learned, and almoſt quarrelled for the privilege of being allowed to ſupport them. Laſtly, as ſecretary to the aggrieved Biſhop of Fermo, Æneas was committed to the anti-papal party; to him, as to his maſter, the claims of a General Council naturally outweighed the authority of the Papacy: Baſel was a revolt againſt the paſt; the Council promiſed a learned reformation led by the more enlightened biſhops of Europe; above all, it was an expreſſion of that quickly-growing feeling of national life, which characterized this period, and was directly oppoſed to both the imperialiſm of the Holy Roman Empire, and the ſtill more univerſal claims ſet up by the Papacy. To erect national churches, proclaim local independence, ſway the liſtening world with eloquent Latin ſpeeches of Ciceronian ring—theſe were the high things towards which young Piccolomini was haſtening, for which he gladly left his home and fatherland.

II.

AENEAS . SILVIVS . A . BASILIENSI . CONCILIO . IN . VLTERIOREM . BRITANNIAM . ORATOR . AC . SCOTIAM . AD . REGEM . CALEXIVM . MISSVS . A . TEMPESTATE . IN . NOVERGIAM . PVLSVS . ET . PER . BRITANNIAM . REGIOS . SPECVLATORES . ELVDENS . BASILEAM . REVERTITVR.

It was not likely that the Piccolomini freſcoes would give much prominence to the Council of Baſel, conſidering its ſtrong anti-papal tendencies; and even the one notice of that aſſembly, contained in the above inſcription, is hiſtorically incorrect. For Æneas Silvius was not deſpatched by the Council to Scotland, nor did he ſet forth from Baſel. It was from Arras, whither he had accompanied his then employer, Cardinal Albergata, to the famous Congreſs of 1435, that Æneas ſtarted for the Britiſh Iſles. It is true that Albergata had been the repreſentative of the Council at the Congreſs, and had contributed much to the ſucceſs of the negotiations there carried on; it is alſo probable that the miſſion to James I. of Scotland was cloſely connected with the peace made between France and Burgundy, and was, ſo far, an attempt to forward the general policy of the Conciliar fathers. Still, in ſpite of this, Æneas was no ambaſſador from that body, nor does he appear to have carried with him their inſtructions. He was ſent over,

in fact, by his master the Cardinal of Santa Croce, and special care seems to have been taken to divest his embassage of all appearance of being an important affair.

We may pass lightly over the life of Æneas while he was acting as a useful scholar and secretary at Basel. During this period he was servant to many masters, and tells us with a kind of pride that he had managed the correspondence of three cardinals and three bishops. Capranica, his first patron, soon became too poor to be able to support a secretary, and dismissed him; he was then taken up by Bishop Nicodemus of Freisingen, a member of the great house of the Scala, in whose suite he made his first journey to Frankfort; from him he passed on to Bartholomeo, Bishop of Novara. While with him he came into communication with both the scandalous Filippo Maria, the Visconti tyrant of Milan, whom he did not hesitate to laud with venal eloquence, and with Piccinino, the famous condottiere, whom he visited in order to lay plans for a dark plot against the person of Pope Eugenius IV., in 1435. In these unwholesome matters Æneas seems to have played the part of go-between: nor in later days did he show regret, or even resentment against the Bishop of Novara, who led him into great peril at this time; for intrigue, with its natural risks and chances, was really dear to him, and he trod lightly enough the perilous paths which might bring him to fortune. After his connection with this dangerous master was over, he fortunately found employment under Niccolò d'Albergata, Cardinal of Santa Croce, the most capable and influential man at Basel. And when the peace of Arras changed the

balance of European politics, and cauſed great feeling at the Court of Henry VI. of England, who threatened immediate war againſt the new confederates, it became deſirable that troubles ſhould, if poſſible, be made for the Engliſh King, ſo as to hinder him from endeavouring to break up the newly-made continental peace. It was, therefore, thought well that an envoy ſhould be forthwith ſent to James I. of Scotland, in order to perſuade him to croſs, or at leaſt to menace, the Border. And whom ſhould they send? The envoy muſt be perſuaſive, able, reſolute, and ſufficiently accredited; yet not ſo diſtinguiſhed as to attract the hoſtile attention of the Engliſh Court, or furniſhed with ſuch definite inſtructions as might, in caſe of his ſeizure, lead to unpleaſant conſequences to his maſters. There was no man at Arras who ſeemed to anſwer to theſe conditions better than Æneas Silvius: he had already proved his eloquence; his ſtyle was beyond blame; he could be truſted to do what he was told; his induſtry as well as his courage had undergone full proof; and as ſecretary to the famous Cardinal of Santa Croce, he would carry weight at the Scottiſh Court, while, as he had neither office nor title, it was hoped that his apparent inſignificance would ſecure him from too much attention. It was given out that the ſecretary was being ſent to James I. to reconcile a certain Scottiſh prelate to that prince; or that he was going in the name of the Council and the Pope to beg for the liberation of ſome perſonage held captive in Scotland. To allay ſuſpicion, it was thought good that he ſhould avoid the long ſea paſſage, and attempt to paſs through England to Edinburgh. He accordingly croſſed from Calais to Dover,

and ſo through Kent to London. Here, in ſpite of all precautions, his further advance was ſtopped; and he had to retrace his ſteps to Dover: but not before his obſervant eyes, as he tells us, had been "pleaſed with the ſight of "ſwarming wealthy London, and Paul's high fane and the "marvellous royal tombs (at Weſtminſter), and Thames, "which ſeems to run more ſwiftly up than down (for to "the Italian a tidal river alſo was a marvel), and the "bridge which is a town in itſelf, and the village in which "fame ſays that men are born with tails, and, moſt note-"worthy of all, the golden mauſoleum of St. Thomas of "Canterbury, all beſprent with diamonds, pearls, carbuncles, "before which they deem it ſacrilege to offer anything "leſs valuable than ſilver." The tail-producing town was Strood near Rocheſter, which legend had confuſed with Stroud in Glouceſterſhire. The ſtory runs that when St. Auguſtine was paſſing through the Weſt of England, he preached to the men of Stroud; and they, inſtead of humbly liſtening, made ſport of him and his followers, by faſtening fiſhes' tails to their backs: when the Saint diſcovered the practical joke, in his wrath he prayed that they and their luckleſs poſterity for ever might be born with tails. This unpleaſant diſtinction was transferred by common rumour from Glouceſterſhire to Kent; and thus Æneas, paſſing through the little town on the Medway, was told the marvel; which, like a prudent and modern man, he reports as he had heard it, without giving it any credence.

From Dover Æneas returned to the continent, paſſing through the famous entrepôt of Bruges to Sluys, "where is

" the moſt crowded harbour in all the Weſt," whence he ſet ſail direct for the Firth of Forth. Again was his voyage unfortunate; ſtormy weather from the ſouthward drove him up to the Norwegian coaſt, and in the wildeſt time of winter he was out at ſea twelve days before his ſtruggling captain could land him at the port of Leith. In his fear Æneas had vowed a pilgrimage; and, directly he reached land, haſtened to fulfil it, by going barefoot over ſnow and ice ſome ten miles to the ſhrine of " our Lady of the White Kirk " in Haddingtonſhire; he was ſo much exhauſted, and had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in his feet, that he had to be carried back to Edinburgh in a litter. To this painful pilgrimage he attributed in after life his frequent attacks of gout, and that infirmity of the feet which was urged againſt him by his opponents at the time of his election to the papal throne.

At Edinburgh he was admitted to that interview with James I. of Scotland which forms the ſubject of the ſecond freſco. It is in ſome reſpects one of the leaſt ſucceſsful of Pinturicchio's efforts; for it is thoroughly unreal, and wears a peculiarly ſtiff and academic look. There is no animation in the figure of Æneas, pleading as orator, nor does he ſtand forth in the picture with ſufficient prominence; the byſtanders, who wear fancy dreſſes, by no means after the Scottiſh pattern, are but ſlightly intereſted by his eloquence; King James is dignified, and the one important figure of the piece. The painter has evidently taken far more pleaſure in the decoration than in the living figures; the beautiful cinque-cento arches and roof pertaining to a building never yet ſeen in Scotland, and very

unlike Holyrood, the admirable perſpective of floor and throne-ſteps, the pleaſing landſcape ſeen behind the royal ſeat, are perfectly ſucceſsful as wall-ornament. But Edinburgh knew no ſuch audience-hall; the towers of the city in the background are purely imaginary; nor are the hills and water in the leaſt like the Firth of Forth, which they are ſuppoſed to repreſent; the interview took place in the dead of winter; yet Pinturicchio has his trees in full leaf, while a ſummer brightneſs floods the ſcene. The general effect of the colouring of this compartment is freſh and good, if we can only forget its want of truthfulneſs.

Though Æneas aſſures us that "he obtained from King "James everything for which he had come begging," he means that he had been ſucceſsful in the pretexts of his embaſſy, and that the diſgraced or impriſoned prelate was reſtored to favour; of the real object of the miſſion we hear no more. James was unwilling to create troubles for himſelf with England, and declared himſelf neutral, offering to make alliance with the parties to the Arras agreement with a view to peace only, and not for war; farther he would not go. So ſoon as this was quite clear, Æneas bade him farewell, receiving rich preſents and money for his travelling charges; and, deeming any riſk better than another long ſea voyage, paſſed in diſguiſe through England to Dover, and ſo back again to Baſel. He has left in his Commentaries the moſt graphic account of this, which was one of the moſt eventful portions of his life. His keen eyes took note of all; we ſee that the Scots of his day were not unlike thoſe of modern times; he praiſes and is allured by the comelineſs of the blue-eyed women, ſhivers at the ſcant

clothing of the men, is much intereſted and amazed to ſee that when in winter the half-naked poor folk came to beg for bread, they received, in ſpite of the Biblical precept, a ſtone, and went off well contented with the gift; for in that land, he ſays, "they have a ſingular kind of ſul-"phurous ſtone, which is burnt inſtead of wood, whereof "they have none." It is clear that the pits about Edinburgh were worked in his time, and that a winter diſtribution of coals to the needy was as well underſtood then as now. Little as may have been the political ſucceſs of this miſſion to Scotland, we owe to it a moſt vivid picture of theſe iſlands as they appeared to an obſervant foreigner in the firſt half of the fifteenth century.

III.

HIC . AENEAS . A . FOELICE . V . ANTIPAPA . LEGATVS AD . FEDERICVM . III . CAESAREM . MISSVS . LAVREA . CORONA . DONATVR . ET . INTER . AMICOS . EIVS . AC . SECRETARIVS . ANNVMERATVR . ET . PRAEFICITVR.

Some little time before his journey to Scotland, Æneas Silvius had accompanied his patron, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, to Ripaille, near Thonon, on the ſouthern ſhore of Lake Leman, where the hermit-prince Amadeus of Savoy had comfortably eſtabliſhed his little court. Scarcely a year before he had laid down his ſceptre as Duke of Savoy, though he ſtill retained the title, and continued to a conſiderable extent to take part in the actual government of the duchy. Under the hermit's garb the old man cloaked an ambitious ſpirit and luxurious taſtes; the religious exerciſes and good living practiſed and enjoyed by Charles V. at Juſte were not more ſtrongly contraſted than were the hermit's dreſs with the eaſy manners of the court at Ripaille. But while honeſt Piero da Noceto, Æneas' fellow-ſecretary, ſaw at once through the tranſparent diſguiſe, and wrote with charcoal on the wall, in Cicero's words, that "totius in-"juſtitiæ nulla capitalior eſt quam eorum, qui, cum "maxime fallunt, id agunt ut viri boni eſſe videantur" (De Offic., i. 13), the pliant Æneas did not chooſe to lift

the cloak which covered ſo great hypocriſy, and from this point the career of Piero lay apart from that of his leſs ſcrupulous comrade, whoſe flexible code of honour led him, through many ſtraits, at laſt to the ſummit of his ambition. For Æneas flattered the hermit with ſuch ſucceſs that he was invited to enter his ſervice; and, as his poſition at Baſel was growing doubtful, while the leading men drew quietly away, and advancement from the Conciliar party became daily leſs probable, he hailed his appointment as ſecretary to Amadeus with delight; to be at the right hand of the new anti-pope—Amadeus was elected Pope by the Council in 1439, and aſſumed the name of Felix V.—ſeemed to him to be a great ſtroke of good fortune. The election of Felix, however, turned out to be fatal to the Council, and Æneas ſoon recognized the fact, taking precautions and prudent meaſures accordingly; his poſition as "Cancelliſta" in the little anti-papal court proved after all to be but a precarious preferment.

During this period Æneas ſpent his leiſure, of which he had no ſmall amount, in literary purſuits. In the language of the time a man who followed Cicero's ſtyle and eſchewed the ſchoolmen, who preferred artiſtic compoſition to logical exactitude, and drew inſpiration from the Latin claſſics, was ſtyled a poet, whether he wrote in verſe or in proſe; Cicero himſelf, in spite of his execrable hexameters, was the prince of poets, and Æneas, at Baſel, had been recognized as a poet on the ſtrength of his admirable ſtyle; he had alſo ſpent no little time on actual verſe compoſition; academic elegiacs, ſatires, epiſtles, worked on claſſical models, and tinged with their prevalent immorality,

ſeemed to give him a ſecond claim to poetic honours. Above all, he painfully achieved a long Latin poem of ſome two thouſand lines, entitled "Nymphilexis," which his friends ſeem to have regarded as a ſupreme effort of his genius. In it, as elſewhere, were apparent the looſe ideas of the young man on moral queſtions; his private career at Baſel and at the German Court was as diſcreditable as the apologies he thought well to offer for it in his old age.

During this period, in 1440, Frederick, Duke of Styria and Carinthia, head of the Hapſburg houſe, had been elected King of the Romans, and choſen Emperor with the title of Frederick III. Deſtined to be for half a century head of the Holy Roman Empire, it may ſeem ſtrange that Frederick is ſo little known to poſterity. He ruled through a great part of the Renaiſſance-period, and, though very feeble as a ſtateſman and ſoldier, had the taſtes and ſympathies of a cultivated prince. No man had a better eye for fine jewels and ſtones, or more love for a well-tilled garden; he tried to give the ſomewhat backward German court a more literary tone. Accordingly, when Æneas Silvius came with the ambaſſador from Baſel to the Diet at Frankfort, in 1442, and was commended to him by ſome leading prelates as a great maſter of fine Italian learning, urbanity, and ſtyle, the young German King (as the Emperor elect was properly ſtyled previouſly to his coronation) was pleaſed at the thought of ſecuring ſo much bright culture for his court, and made ſuch handſome offers to the ſecretary as proved quite irreſiſtible. He propoſed to make him one of the Imperial ſecretaries, and alſo

to confer on him the high, if vague dignity of Poet Laureate. Æneas readily accepted both the office and the honour; for "afterwards," he tells us, "when things were "changed, and all abandoned Felix, refuſing to recognize "him as Pope, I, too, betook myſelf to Frederick the "Cæſar; for I did not wiſh at once to croſs over from ſide to ſide;" he did not ſee his way clearly to the feet of Pope Eugenius, for the tranſition would have been far too abrupt, and the half-ſtarved ſecretary had few friends at the Roman court; he therefore caught at the opportunity of attaching himſelf to the neutral Germans, and to the ſervice of one who was both a lover of letters and head of the Weſtern world.

Though not unknown in Italy, where each prince claimed the right of conferring the laurel wreath on ſome learned man of his little court, where Petrarch and Dante, after his death, had been made Poets Laureate, and where the Emperor Sigiſmond had crowned Antonio Beccadelli at Siena in 1433, ſtill the honour had not yet been heard of in ruder Germany. It ſeems to have held the place of an extraordinary and honorary degree, as it were a doctorate in arts, a ſpecial mark of literary excellence, tenable only by one happy holder at a time. If the right to confer it were conceded to each prince who might wiſh to have one ſpecial model of elegant ſcholarſhip at his court, there might poſſibly be ſeveral poets laureate at one time in different places; if, on the other hand, the head of the Holy Roman Empire were to claim it for himſelf alone, as now ſeemed probable, then the honour would be enhanced both by the dignity of the giver, and by the fact that it was tenable by

only one perſon in the world. No wonder then that to be crowned Poet Laureate by imperial hands was regarded as a very high honour; no wonder that Æneas Silvius henceforward, till the Papacy made him ſuperior even to this, ſedulouſly ſigned himſelf "Poeta" in all his letters. Like his ſucceſſor in the ſame honour, Ulrich von Hutten, he thought ſcorn of thoſe degrees which indicated knowledge of the laws, and prided himſelf on a diſtinction which raiſed him to the higheſt rank among the Humaniſts. The diploma which declares him Poet Laureate is dated Frankfort, 27 July, 1442; it gave him the rights of an academic maſter of the liberal arts, authorized him to publiſh, read, expound, diſcuſs, all poeſy, enabled him to wear a gold-embroidered robe, with fitting ornaments.

The inveſtiture of Æneas as Poet Laureate by Frederick III. at Frankfort forms the ſubject of the third freſco. He kneels, in a flowing gown, though not in that ſplendid robe which ſhould betoken hereafter his new dignity, at his patron's feet; his figure and fine features are full of graceful repoſe. The grouping of the crowd around is ſufficiently varied, though the company hardly ſhows much intereſt in the ceremony. Some of the figures are beautiful; there is a tale that the handſome boy in the right foreground of the picture (reckoning right and left by the hands of the ſpectator) was intended for the youthful Raphael; as this is alſo ſaid of two figures in other freſcoes, it may be taken for what it is worth. Pinturicchio may not improbably have, conſciouſly or not, copied the manner and appearance of one of the moſt beautiful youths of his day, taking him more or leſs definitely as a model. The

background is one of thoſe conventional pieces of architecture which evidently gave Pinturicchio great pleaſure; it is a fine piece of perſpective work in ſpite of its impoſſibility as an actual building. But who can explain the meaning of the groups in the diſtance? Why ſhould a man be ſtabbing a woman on the roof? and why in the ſky does a bird of prey attack a ſcreaming gooſe? Does it repreſent the imperial eagle ſwooping down on ignorance, according to the adage, "Aquila non captat muſcas," which was uſed of the great German bird? It is perhaps worthy of note that, as if to mark the abſolute neutrality of Germany in the great queſtion of the day, there is not in all the crowd, not even among the courtiers by the throne, a ſingle eccleſiaſtic.

IV.

AENEAS . A . FEDERICO . III . IMP . LEGATVS . AD . EVGENIVM . IIII . MISSVS . NON . SOLVM . EI . RECONCILIATVS . EST . SED . HIPODIACONVS . ET . SECRETARIVS . MOX . TERGESTINVS . DEINDE . SENEN . ANTISTES . CREATVS.

The Laurel Crown ſymbolized the transfer of the allegiance of Æneas from Felix V. to Frederick III.; yet the wary ſecretary did not deem it prudent to make the change till he had firſt applied to his late maſter for permiſſion ſo to better his fortunes. In this he followed one chief rule of his life, which was to make no enemies among great or ſmall; and he ſeems in this caſe to have ſucceeded in deſerting the falling anti-pope without offending him. He doubtleſs pointed out that he could be ſerviceable to him with the German King, of whoſe recognition Felix as yet did not deſpair. And indeed for a time Æneas did not altogether ſever himſelf from old connexions; for, though he ſays that "I now repented me of theſe their follies," he made no parade of his penitence ſo long as Frederick ſeemed likely to wed Margaret of Savoy, widow of Louis of Anjou and daughter of Felix. Nor did the viſit of Frederick to Baſel and the Conciliar fathers appear to him to be the right moment to ſhow his ſorrow for their errors. When, however, the marriage ſcheme fell through, and it became

clear that Frederick would not go over to the anti-pope's ſide, he thought it high time to declare againſt the Conciliar party and its plans, and to begin in good earneſt his ſkilful paſſage "from oppoſition through neutrality to the "Curial ſide."

Theſe were alſo the wearieſt and moſt unhappy days of his life. The Foreign Office of Frederick III. was the home of dulneſs; the fellow-clerks of the new Italian ſecretary diſliked him at once for his cleverneſs and for his vices; his ſubtle intellect, refined taſtes, even his keen intereſt in the world around him, contraſted too much with their deadneſs of mind, love of routine, ſtuporous honeſty; the Germans with their coarſe taſtes and commonplace amuſements and groſs immoralities diſliked the manner of their comrade's life. Though ſtill a layman, he had no intention of putting an inconvenient wife between himſelf and the chances of clerical preferment, ſhould it ſeem well for him to embark on that career. A life of cynical licenſe was, in his view, little bar to the prieſthood; a wife would have been a fatal obſtacle. Yet he found ſmall ſolace in his practices and amuſements; his letters at this period are full of gloom; the "miſery of "courtiers," of which he now wrote, a favourite theme with authors who both lack independence and ſmart under patronage, is deſcribed in his moſt eloquent manner; he tells us of poverty and neglect, dulneſs, ill will, a career apparently at an end, which has led him downwards at laſt to the drudgery of a half-ſtarved clerk's ſtool. Still, things brightened ſomewhat when, a little later, he ſucceeded in winning the powerful ſupport and friendſhip of Gaſpar

Schlick, the German Chancellor, the man who well underſtood the problems of the time, and gave to German politics that direction which led to the reconciliation of Chriſtendom, the reſtoration of unity, and ultimately the riſe of Æneas to the papal throne. Schlick repreſented the wealthy burgher-party in the ſtate; he was the "new man" the like of whom could be found in many lands, and whom princes gladly uſed to check the feudal ariſtocracy; he was the man of all others fitted to appreciate the abilities and devotion of Æneas: for the clever Italian would aid him to manage the ſlower Germans, and might be truſted to have nothing in common with them in either feelings or intereſts.

We have in that ſingular "Viſion of Fortune" which he declares that he beheld in the year 1444, a proof of his reſtleſſneſs and ambition at this time; it was alſo during this period that he addreſſed a remarkable letter to his old friend Piero da Noceto. "I ſerve a prince," he ſays, "who, as "you know, belongs to neither party, and who, holding "the middle courſe, deſires the reunion of all. It is not "ſeemly that the ſervant ſhould deſire anything ſave that "which the maſter deſires. . . . If God grants this union, "better times will come for both of us; but when this "will be, I cannot tell. In the meantime I will inſinuate "myſelf into the King's good graces, will hearken to the "King, follow the King. What he wills, that will I: "I will never oppoſe him, nor interfere beyond my office. ". . . If they ſay yes, I will ſay yes; if they ſay no, my "no ſhall echo theirs." Here is no high ideal, or voice of a man of principle: let us ſee how the echoes of this period

come back to us from him when he is no longer the ſtruggling ſecretary, but the ſupreme Pontiff on St. Peter's ſeat. In his bull condemning his own works (dated 26 April, 1463), he refers to this time with open frankneſs: "like a "young bird from the neſt, ignorant and lacking ſkill, we "came to Baſel. . . . Our own writings pleaſed us then, "after the manner of poets, who recite their works; in the "ingenuous time of youth we were troubled with few "doubts, and were guided by thoſe who were wiſer and "older than ourſelves. But when the Roman King re-"fuſed to recognize Felix V., it ſuited us to paſs on to the "neutral party, in order that among them we might have "greater freedom to hear the truth; and, if we had to yield, "that we might not have to go over at once from one "extreme to the other."

This, then, was the poſition of Æneas in theſe years; he balanced between the parties, watching the ſigns of the times, and carefully taking advantage of every turn and change which might prove to be in his favour. His great patron Schlick was ſtrongly inclined towards the ſide of Pope Eugenius, who lately, in September, 1443, had ventured to return to Rome. Month by month the proſpects of Felix darkened; the Germans began to feel that neutrality might laſt too long; and finally, the threatening Turk could no more be kept out of ſight. The battle of Varna (10th November, 1444), in which King Wladiſlas and Cardinal Ceſarini met their tragic fate, left all Europe open towards the Eaſt: everything ſeemed to point towards reconciliation and reunion in the Weſt.

At the very beginning of 1445 Æneas was ſent by

Frederick III. to communicate to Pope Eugenius the views of the third or neutral party; they propoſed that their neutrality ſhould laſt one year longer, during which time a general Council ſhould meet at Conſtance or Augſburg, or ſome Danubian city, to conſider and ſecure the liberties of the German Church. Rome and Baſel were both invited to take part in this great aſſembly. While the Conciliar fathers, aware of their weakneſs, and afraid of leaving the ſafe ſhelter of the walls of Basel, refuſed to ſend envoys to ſuch a council, Æneas ſet forth, with his maſter's wiſhes fully underſtood, for Rome. Though ſtill but a ſecretary, from this moment he becomes a perſonage in European hiſtory; to him more than to any man is due the ſucceſsful healing of the ſchiſm of the Weſt; from this time forward he deals with high thoughts of European policy; he riſes to the theme, and acquits himſelf with tact and graceful cleverneſs; it is perhaps his beſt time, bringing out the better ſide of his character, and giving play to his ſpecial gifts; he ſeems to have fully appreciated the greatneſs of the iſſues at ſtake. We become aware that there are guiding lines in his mind: the deſire of the unity of the Church, and the wiſh for a combined effort to ſtem the forward movement of the Turks. His journey into Italy, undertaken in winter, was in itſelf no ſmall teſt of reſolution and endurance; he encountered torrents of rain in the upland country, and found all the bridges broken in the Carinthian Alps. For three days, guided by peaſants, he had to "ſcale moſt high and trackleſs mountains, and pre-" cipitous ſnow-clad rocks." And if the thought of Italy beyond rejoiced him, he muſt alſo have felt much doubt

as to his reception at his journey's end. How could he, mouthpiece of conciliar eloquence at Baſel, ſecretary afterwards to the falling anti-pope, expect to be welcome to Eugenius? Still, he ſomehow ſtruggled through, going down to his beloved Siena before venturing to Rome; there his kinsfolk begged him with tears not to ruſh into the preſence of one ſo fierce and unforgiving as the Pope. But Æneas knew better; if Eugenius could detach Frederick completely from the Baſel fathers, and perſuade him and Germany to abandon their neutrality, the ſchiſm muſt come to an end; and the envoy was well aware that under theſe circumſtances he was ſafe enough. He alſo by this time had ſecured for himſelf influential friends in the Papal Curia, and had in reality little reaſon to dread the venture, though it afterwards pleaſed him to fancy himſelf a hero taking his life in his hand for duty's ſake. "I told my "parents, that I had undertaken this embaſſy, and would "carry it out to a proſperous end, or periſh in the "attempt."

As was no doubt foreſeen, his perſonal reconciliation with the Pope was not long delayed, or clogged with any difficult conditions; the ceremony forms the ſubject of the fourth freſco. Still wearing his layman dreſs and long hair, Æneas kneels before Eugenius, and humbly kiſſes his foot; of all the compoſitions it is perhaps the moſt formal. The lines, whether of the architecture or of the groups, all converge on the central figure of the Pope, which is dignified and ſimple; the various tints of green on the baldachino and in the papal robes form a fine piece of delicate colouring. In the foreground ſit two figures, ſaid to be portraits

of the Cardinals of Como and Amiens, warm friends of the ſecretary-envoy; in the background, through the arch at the pope's right hand, we ſee Æneas again kneeling, this time apparently to receive inveſtiture as a cardinal; on the other hand is a little piece of landſcape with unimportant figures moving through it.

The reconciliation once effected, Æneas became the centre of a great chain of negotiations; he had now made the difficult ſtep, and had ſafely paſſed from neutrality to the papal ſide; the higheſt promotion ſeemed at laſt within his reach. Now, like his friend Gaſpar Schlick, he undertook ſecretly to undermine, in favour of the Papacy, the neutrality of Germany, and to win the allegiance of the princes with the ſmalleſt poſſible conceſſions from the pope in return. Deftly he played his double part as open envoy of Frederick and ſecret agent of Eugenius; it was work for which he had a natural aptitude, ſtrengthened by long and careful training. Though the taſk was difficult, and might well end in failure, it had the ſpecial advantage that it opened out rich viſtas of promotion and plenty. For both pope and emperor had good things to give, and Æneas hungered much after ſuch rewards for his ſervices. He had already, though ſtill a layman, held more than one piece of church preferment, the provoſtſhip of St. Lorenzo at Milan, given him by the duke, and a little Alpine pariſh worth ſixty gold pieces yearly. But wealth and advancement clearly depended now on his abandoning the lay eſtate for the clerical calling; his perſonal diſlike to the prieſthood, and the unchecked licenſe of his life were already toning down under the

mellowing influence of years; he found his inclinations no longer at variance with his intereſts; "formerly," he writes to Piero da Noceto, "I had taken care not to en-
"tangle myſelf in holy orders, for I dreaded continence,
"which, however laudable, is more likely to be praiſed in
"word than followed in deed, and is more fitting to a
"philoſopher than a poet; but now," he adds, "I have
"paſſed from the worſhip of Venus to that of Bacchus,"
which deity he largely praiſes, and ſeems to think that he has taken an upward ſtep; he has become, he ſays, more ſtaid in manner, and has quite changed the direction of his ſtudies. At Baſel he had worked hard at Horace, Virgil, Ovid; in Germany, he had turned to Ariſtotle, reading the Politics in Aretino's Latin rendering; and now, laſtly, he had bought a noble Latin Bible, to the ſtudy of which he had given not a little time. And ſo, he ſays, he is quite ready for the tonſure, which a while before he would have loathed; he is prepared to caſt away all thought of worldly advancement, eſpecially as his new profeſſion opens brighter proſpects; he is far from concealing his motives: he ſees benefices, a biſhop's mitre, and wealthy preferments, all before him. And ſo, early in 1446, he is ſubdeacon, then deacon, and, within eighteen months, Frederick has named him Biſhop of Trieſt. Now, however, great changes threatened him; he had all but concluded with much ſkill and readineſs the negotiations with which he was entruſted, having brought a large part of Germany back to Rome, and having good hopes of the reſt, when, in February, 1447, Pope Eugenius died, and Nicolas V., who looked with no friendly eye on ſhifty

Æneas, aſcended the pontifical throne. Having juſt at this time ſecured his nomination to the ſee of Trieſt, he was fain to withdraw from the diplomatic tangle to the duties of his dioceſe. The antagoniſts againſt whom Eugenius had ſtruggled ſo long ſurvived him but a ſhort time; in April, 1449, Felix V. quietly withdrew from his untenable poſition, and before the end of that year the Council of Baſel had breathed its laſt. The fall of Gaſpar Schlick in 1448, and his death in 1449, cut away all the ſupport the new Biſhop of Trieſt ſeemed to enjoy, and for a time his bright hopes paſſed under eclipſe.

V.

AENEAS . FEDERICO . III . IMP . LEONORAM . SPONSAM . EXHIBET . ET . PVELLAE . LAVDIS . AC . REGVM . LVSITANORVM . COMPLECTITVR.

On October 24, 1449, Æneas Silvius was named Biſhop of Siena, and very thankfully he left his exile in Germany to return to his well-loved Italy. Though the republican city dreaded the effects which might follow from the riſe of ſo able a member of the houſe of the Piccolomini, ſhe ſtill welcomed him heartily home, and was flattered by the honour done to one of her own ſons. For two years, however, Æneas had little chance of ſettling down; he had to negotiate between the Pope and Frederick III. on the great queſtion of the imperial coronation; he was ſent as ambaſſador hither and thither, eſpecially into Bohemia, where he was an eye-witneſs of the ferment of Huſſite opinions and political agitation which made that "inland iſland" ſo intereſting in the hiſtory of the age. All eaſtern Europe was diſturbed; Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria ſeemed likely to fall away from Frederick's government; he purſued the phantom of the imperial dignity, at the riſk of his authority over his own people. At the ſame time that the negotiations were going on reſpecting the crown, Æneas Silvius was called on to undertake another, and perhaps a more congenial taſk.

He was to hold himſelf in readineſs to welcome to Italy Leonora of Portugal, the affianced bride of Frederick, who was expected to land in time to accompany him to Rome for the coronation. Accordingly in October, 1451, Æneas went down to Siena, whither, it was reported, Frederick would ſhortly follow. The tidings threw the jealous city into the uttermoſt alarm; no one knew what the Biſhop might be intending; they expected a reſtoration of the old noble families by the intervention of the King. Æneas was flouted in the ſtreets, threats and rumours of aſſaſſination circulated, and he thought it beſt to await the Infanta elſewhere. So he went down to Telamone, where ſhe was expected to land, and waited there wearily, the weather being wintry, for two months. At laſt, in February, 1452, he learnt that the Portugueſe ſhips had put in at Leghorn: thither he repaired, and after ſome punctilious wrangling with her eſcort, ſet out with her for Siena. Meanwhile Frederick had alſo come down to the ſame place, and on the 24th of February, 1452, hearing of her approach, ſet out with a ſplendid proceſſion to bring her in. In the front were a hundred citizens clad in ſcarlet and ſamite; then Duke Albert of Auſtria, with a following of over a thouſand knights; then the young King Ladiſlas of Hungary and Bohemia; then, duly guarded, the precious relics of the city; laſtly, the clergy in their ranks. Frederick himſelf awaited her juſt outſide the Camullia gate, accompanied by two cardinals, and his retinue. When the bride came in ſight Frederick leapt from his horſe, and haſtened to meet her. He was rejoiced to ſee how young ſhe was and fair.

The moment of their firſt meeting is the ſcene choſen for the fifth freſco, which is, on the whole, the moſt lively and animated of the ſeries. The grace and beauty of the piece, with its fine colouring and harmonious variety, have led Vaſari to declare that this freſco, as well as the firſt, as being beyond Pinturicchio's level, was entirely the work of the youthful Raphael. There ſeems to be no ſure foundation for this opinion. In this freſco, as in the firſt, Æneas, though not the important perſonage of the ſcene, ſtill ſtands out as the central figure of the piece; as he delivers up the young bride to her lord, his benign face and epiſcopal mitre are more prominent than the dreſs and features of the King. Grouped around the Infanta are the ladies of her company, behind them the two cardinals. On the other ſide ſtands Ladiſlas of Hungary, in the foreground, with his back towards us, and Duke Albert of Auſtria juſt behind the King. In the middle of the piece riſes, by a pardonable anachroniſm, the marble column afterwards ſet up on the ſpot, and behind it are two tall trees to ſymbolize the meeting of the bridal pair; the one a ſtraight and lofty plane tree, the other a graceful fruit-bearing palm; the ſtems, which ſpring without tapering from the buttreſſes of their roots up to their high branching heads, ſhow that Pinturicchio did look at the things he painted, and was not always content with conventional work. Behind the tree trunks ſtands the Camullia gate, and beyond, the towers, cathedral, and city walls of Siena. The ſpirited horſes of the two companies, ranged on either ſide, add greatly to the fire and animation of the compoſition.

VI.

ÆNEAS . SENEN . ANTISTES . AD . CALISTVM . III . ORATOR
. A . FEDERICO . IMP . III . MISSVS . PONT . AD . BELLVM .
. ASIATICVM . ARMAT . ET . PATRVM . PRINCIPVMQ .
. OMNIVM . ROGATIONE . CARD . EFFICITVR.

When, a week later, the bridal pair were on their way to Rome for the coronation, as the cavalcade paused on the brow of the Ciminian hill, not far from Bolsena, and for the first time looked down on the valley of the Tiber, Frederick called Aeneas to his side, and said to him, "Look "now—we go up to Rome: methinks I see thee a car- "dinal, and in truth thy fortunes will not tarry there, thou "shalt climb yet higher; St. Peter's chair awaits thee; "look not down on me, when thou hast reached that "pinnacle of honour." "I think not on the Pontificate,— "nay, not even on the Cardinalate," was the Bishop's modest reply,—a reply scarcely in the spirit of truth; for from this time he strove manfully for the red hat: when, some years later, he was nominated cardinal, he assures us that no man had ever entered the Sacred College with such mighty efforts, or in face of such great difficulties.

Partly from a real interest in the subject, partly from its opportunities as a theme for the orator, partly because

it introduced him to the princes of Europe, and enabled him to oblige both Pope and Emperor, Æneas now took up the Turkiſh queſtion, and made all Europe ring with his eloquence. It was a common ground on which the churchman and the ſcholar could dilate; and when, in 1453, the news of the fall of Conſtantinople ſlowly ſpread through the world, and all felt that while they had been playing with the danger it had fallen on them, then Æneas became the mouthpiece of the alarm. Under his fervid eloquence princes and churchmen ſeemed to be really moved, and he appears to have believed that a new cruſade was beginning which ſhould thruſt the Moſlem back acroſs the Boſphorus. He travelled through Germany, inceſſant and unwearied, enjoying, it ſeemed, the equal confidence of Emperor and Pope. To Nicolas V., though officially he was bound to feel horror at the loſs of Conſtantinople, the queſtion was not ſo alarming as to Frederick; the Danubian frontier of Germany was more threatened than the Italian ſhores. Nicolas had alſo two ſources of comfort; the Patriarch, the moſt important rival to Rome, had been ſmitten hard, and the diſperſion of the learned from the Eaſt enabled him, ſo eager a man of letters, to gather into his library treaſures of infinite worth, and to ſee ſettling in Italy many chief teachers and learned men. Nor were the ſervices rendered by Æneas ſufficient to do away with the diſlike with which Nicolas regarded him: the Biſhop's endeavours, the Emperor's demands, were alike vain; for Nicolas, though he had vaguely promiſed him the hat, never included him among the cardinals of his creation.

On his death in 1455, after a long and cloſe ſtruggle

in the Conclave, Alonſo da Borja (Calixtus III.) was elected Pope; an old man, much reſpected, but infirm and unequal to the taſk. He ſpent moſt part of his days in bed, allowed little light and no air to enter the palace, and let himſelf be ruled completely by his "nephews." In his firſt creation of cardinals he named three youths, two of them his kinsfolk, and one of theſe the well-known Roderigo Lançol, on whom the Pope conferred his own family name of Borja, afterwards Alexander VI. To theſe worthies Æneas ſpeedily attached himſelf; and when ſent by Frederick to the new Pope as Imperial Envoy touching the Obedience, he ſeized the opportunity of abandoning that kind and eaſy-going maſter. Then it was that, after twenty-three years of buſy and unhappy exile, in which he had pined not a little for the ſouth, he at laſt ventured to bid farewell to Germany. Hitherto the Sacred College had been againſt him, and he had never dared the riſks of loſing the ſupport and conſideration he enjoyed as being friend and adviſer to Frederick, the one Italian powerful in Germany. He had been, he tells us, up to this time a man without a true home; "omne ſolum," he cried, "forti patria "eſt"—he would rather live in comfort in Germany than ſtarve in Italy; now however that things were changed at Rome he heſitated no longer, but abandoned his old protector, and entered on the direct road towards greatneſs at the papal court. From the outſet of his dealings with Calixtus he threw away all thought of duty towards Frederick, all feeling for the liberties and rights of Germany; he and his colleague tendered the Obedience to the new Pope without any conditions, and coldly betrayed their truſt. The one

thing as to which the Pope ſhowed eagerneſs,—and this, perhaps, rather from what it might bring in than from any true earneſtneſs,—was the projected Turkiſh war, with a view to which the help of Æneas was well worth having. Accordingly, when the Biſhop of Siena returned from what ſeemed a ſucceſsful embaſſy to Naples, the Pope on December 18, 1456, againſt the bitter oppoſition of the College, named him, with five others, cardinal. He took the title of Cardinal Preſbyter of Santa Sabina, though, as he kept his biſhopric, he is uſually ſtyled the Cardinal of Siena. "Never," he writes, "did cardinals enter the College with "greater effort. Ruſt had ſo clogged the hinges (a play "on the word cardinal) that the door refuſed to move, nay "even ſtrove to cloſe itſelf. Pope Calixtus had need to uſe "the battering-ram and every kind of warlike implement, "ere he could force the way."

The ſixth freſco gives us the inveſtiture of the new Cardinal in the Pontifical Chapel. One of the moſt quiet of the compoſitions, it has dignity and fine colouring; the cinque-cento ornamentation of the altar is ſtriking, and, as uſual, the architectural drawing excellent. Pinturicchio's taſte for mere adornment has, here as elſewhere, led to too free uſe of raiſed gold work, and the decorator rather ſtands before the artiſt. The number of Cardinals preſent is very ſmall; perhaps it is intended purpoſely to indicate the illwill with which the majority of the College, which was at this time unuſually ſmall, regarded the advancement of Æneas; they were by no means too eager to welcome him as one of themſelves; he brought neither wealth, nor high character, nor exalted birth; and they above all feared his

ſingular cleverneſs. In the foreground ſtand two Greek patriarchs or prelates, who by their preſence teſtify ſatisfaction at the elevation of one who was the recognized champion of their ſhattered cauſe: they ſeem to promiſe a freſh union of Chriſtendom, Eaſt and Weſt joining for mutual help and defence in preſence of the terrible figure of Mahomet II.

VII.

CALISTO . MORTVO . AENEAS . CARDINALIS . SENEN . ACCLAMATIONE . PATRVM . APERTISQVE . SVFFRAGIIS . PONTIFEX . DELIGITVR . ET . PIVS . II . NOMINATVR.

Men told, after Æneas Silvius became Pope, how his mother, juſt before his birth, had dreamed ſignificant dreams, and how as a child he had been elected pope by his playfellows with mock ſolemnities. Theſe things, in themſelves trifles, had little influence on the firſt forty years of his life, during which long period he ſhowed no taſte for a clerical career. When, however, he had once begun his rapid, if difficult and encumbered, advance in that direction, he left no ſtone unturned, and neglected no precaution which might ſmooth his upward path. Patiently he continued to do his uncongenial work in Germany, ſo long as the imperial court could help him ; he did not face the intrigues of the Curia till he was ſure of a group of friends, who would not bring up againſt him his poverty, his infirm gait, his earlier career and hoſtile activity at Baſel, his ſervice under a diſcredited antipope, his Germanic intereſts and long attachment to the imperial party. Even after he had entered the Sacred College he was ſurrounded by enemies, who refuſed to be reconciled, and ſhunned his pleaſant converſe, and hated his keen intelligence. Still, as

the higheſt prize of all was now before him, he ſet himſelf to calculate chances, to improve ſuch advantages as he enjoyed, to reduce, as far as he could, the obſtinate reſiſtance of his ill-wiſhers. He had in his favour his ſupple wit, the ſupport of the Spaniſh party, headed by the Borjas, and laſtly the fact that he was an Italian, who, on the ſtrength of his family names, Æneas and Silvius, had ventured to give himſelf out as of ancient Roman deſcent. On the other hand he had to face the hoſtility of the French cardinals and of ſome of the Italians. He had no high connections, nor was he a member of one of thoſe families which had ſtruck their roots deep in the ſoil of the Roman Curia. He therefore determined to attach himſelf cloſely to the papal nephews, and to try at the ſame time to accumulate wealth, without which a cardinal's chances were but poor. We find him now connected,—and little to his credit,—with Roderigo Borja, who for ability, beauty of manners, want of moral character, and greed of gain to ſupport his extravagances, was already notable at the papal court.

This connection brings us to the meaneſt and moſt diſcreditable period of the life of Æneas; he made with Roderigo a ſcandalous compact, which reveals to us the dark ſide of life in the Curia; they agreed on a plan for a joint hunt for vacant benefices. Æneas paints himſelf and his friend as two unclean creatures gloating over dead prelates; Borja carrying on his rapacious work up and down the ſtates of the church, while Æneas kept keen watch at Rome. "In the matter of benefices," he writes to his friend, "I am here to take heed for thee and for me. But "we are ever being miſled by falſe rumours. The fellow,

" lately reported dead at Nuremberg, has juſt arrived here, " found and well, and I had to give him breakfaſt. The " Biſhop of Toul, who, we were told, was dead at Neuſtadt, " has come back in ſplendid health. Still (in ſpite of ſuch " ſad diſappointments) I will keep attentive watch for " anything that may really fall in." For thus did Piccolomini hope to amaſs uſeful wealth, which might befriend him when the next papal vacancy occurred. He alſo became patron for Hungary, and chief man in all attempts to ſet going a Turkiſh war: for in theſe things, too, ſomething might be made. No wonder if in theſe days he became an eloquent defender of curial abuſes; the abuſes were to his profit, while his defence of them raiſed his popularity in the papal court. Nor could any man have been more zealous in making friends and appeaſing foes: his behaviour was a pattern of courtly ſkill, ſo clever, amiable, flattering; he was the friend, nay, even the follower and diſciple, of the moſt oppoſite men; the pleaſant manners of the Italian gentleman, who had ſeen the ways, the courts, and cities of many lands, now ſtood him in good ſtead: from being at the outſet the moſt improbable of candidates for St. Peter's chair, he ſoon was felt to be " papabile."

And ſo when, in Auguſt, 1458, Calixtus III. died, though the Cardinal of Siena had worn the purple leſs than twenty months, he ſoon came to the front. He has left us a moſt ſtriking account of the incidents of the election which now took place. There were at Rome only eighteen cardinals; twelve votes would therefore make a Pope. After the firſt ſcrutiny it became clear that the choice

lay between Eſtouteville, Cardinal Archbiſhop of Rouen, a wealthy and ambitious member of the houſe of Bourbon, and the Cardinal of Siena: for Æneas received five votes, and was evidently ſupported by a ſtrong party. The French Cardinal had his wealth at his back; Æneas muſt truſt to his cleverneſs and ſome good friends. There were waverers among the eight votes which had been ſcattered; how were theſe to go? The French party urged that Æneas was poor and gouty, and that the dignity of the pontifical throne demanded health and wealth. Nor did they ſtop, Æneas tells us, at arguments; money was freely uſed, promiſes paſſed about in plenty; Eſtouteville's friends held a ſecret meeting by night "in latrinis," in the back-courts, and it was ſaid that he had gained over eleven voices to his ſide;—could he but add one more, he was Pope. But this twelfth voice Eſtouteville never got; at midnight Calandrini, one of the waverers, went to the cell in which Æneas was placidly ſleeping, woke him, and urged him by a thouſand conſiderations to abandon the unequal ſtruggle; it would be his wiſeſt courſe to come to terms with the poſſeſſor of eleven votes, to win the credit of making him Pope, and to wait for another vacancy. Æneas, however, did not think his chances deſperate, and refuſed to give way. A freſh ſtruggle now began in the middle of the night; the Italians beſet the waverers, urging their danger under a French Pope, the advantage of having an Italian, and appealed to their fears and cupidity with ſuch ſucceſs, that next morning at the critical ſcrutiny affairs took an entirely new turn. It was a ſtrange ſcene, told by Æneas with

vivid power; we ſee it as freſhly as if it had happened yeſterday. Three cardinals, one of whom was the Cardinal of Rouen himſelf, were deputed, as uſual, to take charge of the chalice in which the votes were depoſited. The others ſat in their ſtalls, pale and trembling with eagerneſs and anxiety. As Æneas came forward to depoſit his ſlip, Eſtouteville could not contain himſelf,—for the voting was little to his mind,—and he addreſſed the Cardinal of Siena in theſe words: "Now, Æneas, let me be beholden to "thee;" to which, with ironical humility, not forgetful of the bitter oppoſition he had met with from his rival, he replied, "What! do even you then really commend your-"ſelf to ſuch a worm as I?" and placed his vote in the chalice. The names were read out as uſual; and the Cardinal of Rouen declared that Æneas had eight votes, and himſelf ſix. In the midſt of ſubdued excitement, his counting was challenged; ſeveral cardinals, who had marked down the votes as they were called, declared that nine had given their names to the Cardinal of Siena; and this was found to be true. There were now only three ſcattered votes out of the eighteen cardinals; if theſe three choſe to declare for Æneas, he was Pope. In indeſcribable emotion it was agreed to try the "way of acceſs," to ſee if any cardinal would now accede to either candidate. Long the whole conclave ſat in ſilence; the ſlighteſt ruſtle of a robe, the turn of a head, the movement of a foot, ſent a thrill of anxiety round the whole circle. At laſt the fine figure of Roderigo Borja was ſeen to riſe, and amidſt breathleſs ſtillneſs he, in the uſual form, declared that he acceded to the Cardinal of Siena; his

voice, ſays Æneas, was "a ſword in the heart of the Cardinal of Rouen." Another pauſe enſued; two of the friends of Eſtouteville ſlipped out, ſo as to defer the election; no one, however, roſe to follow them; and, after a while, their courage failed, and they ſilently returned to their ſeats. Then Cardinal Tebaldo alſo acceded to the Cardinal of Siena, and gave him the eleventh vote; immediately afterwards Cardinal Colonna, though vehemently held back and urged by Cardinal Eſtouteville himſelf, roſe in his place and ſaid, "And I too accede to "the Sieneſe, and make him Pope." Then all reſiſtance, as uſual, diſappeared; the unanimous vote followed; and thus, at the age of fifty-three, Æneas Silvius Piccolomini attained the ſummit of his ambition. The Roman crowd outſide hurried, according to ancient cuſtom, to ranſack the houſe of the new-made pontiff, and as Æneas was known to be poor, they conveniently had a variance as to whether it was the "Sieneſe" or the "Genoeſe" who had been elected; and, for fear of any miſtake, they plundered the houſes of both.

The new pontiff, who choſe the title of Pius II., probably in alluſion to his firſt name and Virgil's "Sum "pius Æneas," was crowned with all ſolemnity, and with the wonted ſtreet-riot, on September 3, 1458. The ſeventh freſco ſeizes that part of his proceſſion in which, borne aloft under a baldachino which bore his coat of arms, a blue croſs on a white field, and in the croſs five golden half-moons, together with the pontifical inſignia, he is ſtopped on his way, according to ancient uſage, by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, who, kneeling before him,

kindles on the tip of a reed a little tow ſteeped in ſpirit: as the brief bright flame ſhoots up and dies away, the official ſolemnly ſays: "Sancte Pater, ſic tranſit gloria "mundi." He is to the Pope as the ſkeleton at Egyptian feaſts, or the ſlave behind the triumphing general, a reminder of the fleeting character of the higheſt honours. Pius looks calmly down on the ceremony, as with hand uplifted he bleſſes the crowd around: his face is ſad and pale, already old: travel, anxieties, ill health have told on him. The two Orientals in the foreground are there to teſtify to thoſe hopes of union and reſiſtance to the Turk, which were to be the main guiding lines of the new Pope's brief pontificate.

VIII.

PIVS . II . PONT . MAX . A . LVDOVICO . MANTVANORVM . PRINCIPE . CLASSE . IN . NAVMACHIAE . SPECIEM . EXCEPTVS . VI . CALENDAS . JVNIAS . MANTVAM . AD . INDICTVM . DE . EXPEDITIONE . IN . TVRCOS . CONVENTVM . INGREDITVR .

Two great aims characterize the life of Pius II.; his efforts for ecclesiastical unity, by restoring Germany to the Roman obedience, which were successful in the main; and his attempt to unite Christendom in a crusade against the Turks, which proved in the end a wretched failure. On the former effort rests the true title of Æneas to honour; the latter, in which he was no doubt sincere, has given him his reputation, by bringing him to an unhappy death, at the moment when his efforts had been proved completely unavailing. In earlier times Pius must have seen how little enthusiasm survived in Europe; he knew that the Turkish war was, to Pope and prince alike, little more than an easy way of raising money; he saw fleets and armies, gathered in name against the Turk, turned against Christians and used as instruments of lawless ambition. Yet, for all this, he seems not to have despaired, but ever hoped to lead the Christian world against the Infidel.

No sooner was Æneas established as Pope than he began to move the world for the purpose nearest his heart:

the embaſſies of the powers, bringing the obedience of the princes, were opportunities for preſſing on his object; he propoſed a congreſs in northern Italy, at which the Emperor, Philip of Burgundy, the ambaſſadors of Venice, the Hungarian and Bohemian princes, and, in a word, repreſentatives of all Chriſtian powers, might concert their meaſures. Pius himſelf left Rome early in 1459, paſſing through Perugia, and viſiting his birth-place, Corſignano, which he raiſed by a decree to the rank of a city; he changed its name to Pienza, after himſelf, and undertook to build in the little village a ſtately cathedral. Thence he went to Siena, where he met with his firſt ſerious diſappointment; for Philip of Burgundy, that "great Duke of the Weſt," ſent meſſages to ſay that he might be hindered from appearing at the congreſs. Nevertheleſs Pius, leaving Siena, paſſed by way of Florence to Mantua, where the congreſs was to be held. Here freſh diſappointments awaited him: he had invited almoſt every prince; the Emperor, the German dukes and princes, the Kings of Hungary, France, England, Caſtile, Portugal, Arragon, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and, in fact, all lords of name and ſtrength; from Italy he expected the Venetians, who were moſt nearly threatened by the Turks, as well as the repreſentatives of all the chief cities. Yet on the appointed day not one prince, and ſcarcely an envoy, had arrived; Pius ſeemed alone in his defiance of the Turkiſh power,—a high poſition from which the heroic might eaſily ſlip into the ridiculous. Long he waited, and they would not come; as ſummer wore away, the envoys of the diſtreſſed Eaſtern Chriſtians appeared, in ample numbers, praying for help;

but of thoſe who ſhould have replied with means and men ſmall indeed was the tale. The ſtreets were bright with unwonted Eaſtern dreſſes, but men-at-arms and knights were few: even the Sacred College itſelf ſhowed little zeal. At laſt, two months after the appointed day, came in a brilliant embaſſy from Philip of Burgundy, which was received with thankful joy by the Pope; his enthuſiaſm they ſoon damped by ſhowing that they and their lord were more eager for private gain than earneſt in behalf of public objects. The two Venetian envoys alſo declared that if united Europe would go, the Signoria would furniſh ſhips to tranſport the Cruſaders; they refuſed to pledge the Republic to ſeparate action. Franceſco Sforza preſently appeared in perſon, though he provided little motive force; the Poliſh ambaſſadors were far more anxious to complain of the Teutſch Ritters than to help forward the cruſade. It was not till near the end of September that the congreſs was opened by a great ſpeech from Pius, who declared that, in ſpite of age and manifold infirmities, he would in perſon lead the expedition. It was, however, plain enough that the congreſs was dropping into the poſition of a purely Italian conference, liable at any moment to be diverted to the private and petty aims of little princes, who might chooſe to come and air their grievances. Before the year ended, a more European character was given to the congreſs by the arrival of the French envoys and of Sigiſmund of Auſtria, who alſo had private ends to gain. The buſineſs now advanced, however lamely. Pius knowing that the Emperor would name Albert of Brandenburg commander-in-chief in his ſtead, determined to confer on

him a claſſical name; and after conſidering whether he ſhould ſtyle him Hector or Achilles, choſe finally the latter name, remembering that Hector's fate might be of evil omen for the cruſade. On January 14, 1460, war was at laſt formally declared againſt the Sultan. It was now time the congreſs ſhould be cloſed; it had lingered on more than eight months, and Pius was perhaps the only perſon who did not confeſs it a failure, or at leaſt, who kept up appearances to the end.

The eighth Freſco repreſents Pius II. directing the deliberations of the congreſs. In the foreground are the Eaſtern Chriſtians, the ſuppliants; in front of the table, which is ſtrewn with books and writings, ſtands a perſon of diſtinction, the Greek Patriarch as ſome ſay; he holds cloſe and eager diſcuſſion with the Pope: behind the diſputants ſtand a crowd of clergy and others, no doubt alſo repreſenting the powers who appealed for help. On the Pope's right hand, within a low ſcreen, ſit five cardinals, indicating by their ſcanty numbers the ſmall intereſt taken by the Sacred College; behind theſe, and beyond the ſcreen, are princes and abbots, whoſe faces ſhow more indifference than eagerneſs: through the archway of the cinque-cento hall we ſee a charming landſcape, which ſeems, at ſome expenſe of geographical correctneſs, to repreſent the ſouthern end of the Lake of Garda. The ſcene is completely tranquil, and rather deficient in life; there is no ſuch enthuſiaſtic outburſt as that of Clermont, to which Pius had alluded in his opening ſpeech.

IX.

PIVS . PONT . MAX. CATHARINAM . SENEN . OB . INNVMERA.
EIVS . MIRACVLA . INTER . DIVAS . RETTVLIT.

On his return from the congreſs, Pius II. ſeemed to have forgotten all his cruſading ardour. He did not hurry back to Rome; in thoſe days Rome was a moſt uneaſy home for a Pope, and, like others before him, Pius knew that the ground beneath his feet would be mined. Rome ever yearned for a Republic, and the firſt ſtep towards that end would be the ejection of Pope and Papal Court: thus we learn from Pius himſelf that at this time "a Catilinarian gang," a knot of young gentlefolk, under one Tiburzio, had conſpired to overthrow the prieſtly rule. Not till after an abſence of twenty months did the Pope venture again into the Eternal City, and take ſteps to cruſh the conſpiracy. Far more pleaſant to him was it to linger in his own Sieneſe country, than to plunge into the riſks and intrigues of Roman affairs. And theſe days were among the happieſt of his life; though buſy as ever, writing or dictating or giving interviews, or trying to diſentangle knotted broils, he ſtill had time to indulge his love for art and for a country life; ſo that he often ſeemed at firſt ſight to play only the eaſy part of an idle and cultivated gentleman. His was a rare taſte for what was pictureſque and beautiful, with a fine enthuſiaſm for claſſical antiquity. Campanus

aſſures us that he beguiled the wearineſs of the road to Mantua by turning aſide to trace the remains of the labyrinth at Chiuſi, by viſiting Virgil's Mantuan farm, and by taking note of whatever was venerable or curious along his route. He publiſhed an edict for the preſervation of ancient monuments; he loved hill-walks, which gave him noble diſtant views; he would gladly take his food beſide ſome cool ſpring in the uplands, under a whiſpering cork tree. Near Siena he delighted himſelf with landſcape-gardening, and planted a hill-ſide with the pine, cypreſs, ilex, and bay, with paths beneath the ſhade, riſing by eaſy ſteps to well-choſen reſting-places. To everything he brought a keen, inquiring mind, a cheerful, patient ſpirit. With the peaſants in his path he chatted about their local intereſts and heard their legends with delight; he loved to talk, and to hear a pleaſant joke with "free and feſtive converſe, paſſing into moderate jeſt:" his amiable character, which prevailed even over the racking pains of his infirmities, won for him hearty friends, and bore him ſafely through many a trouble. Above all, he rejoiced to honour thoſe of his own country, advancing his kinsfolk, adorning Siena, new building Corſignano: his partiality for his own family made him a great nepotiſt; his "nephews" received whatever he could ſeize for them; his higheſt pleaſure ſeemed to be the reſtoration of his family to its poſition and earlier wealth. In all this there was no cruſading enthuſiaſm: Pius appeared to be an eaſy Pope, whoſe pontificate would paſs by without any action of mark; he would be reckoned among the cultured Pontiffs of the Renaiſſance, and no more.

Even when he was aſked to decide between the rival

claims of three holy Virgins for the honour of canonization, his home partialities decided the queſtion for him. The three were Roſa of Viterbo, Franceſca of Rome, and Catherine of Siena; it muſt, however, be allowed that hiſtory has completely ratified his choice of Catherine on other and better grounds than that of a narrow local patriotiſm. She came of burgher parentage, being born at Siena in 1347, and entered young into the ſiſterhood of St. Dominic de Pœnitentia. There ſhe became famous for ſaintlineſs and for the revelations vouchſafed to her; and in the ſchiſm of the Urbaniſts and Clementines, threw her great influence into the ſcale on behalf of the Italian party. In the midſt of her half-deſpairing followers and worſhippers ſhe died in 1380. Her writings are pure and graceful, filled with a bright religious feeling; ſhe is the favourite ſubject of a whole company of painters,[1] who have depicted her, after the opinion of the day, as the ſpouſe of Chriſt: her fame ſpread wide for power of wonder-working, and when it was announced that ſhe was the choſen of the Pontiff, all Italy rejoiced.

On June 29, 1461, Pius II. publiſhed the Bull for her canonization, and with his own hand compoſed and wrote out the office for her day; nor did he fail to make a Latin poem to her praiſe. He alſo "commanded that a "high and well-appointed balcony ſhould be erected in St. "Peter's, whence, after a diſcourſe on her virtues, he might "proceed to her ſolemn canonization."

[1] A freſco painted by Gianantonio Bazzi in S. Domenico at Siena, repreſenting the Extaſy of St. Catherine after receiving the Stigmata, was publiſhed in chromo-lithography by the Arundel Society in 1867.

The freſco which repreſents this ceremony is in ſome reſpects one of the moſt intereſting of the ſeries; for although there is not much movement in it, what action there is is thoroughly dignified and ſuitable to the ſubject, and in the foreground groups are ſeveral important portraits. The compoſition is ſharply divided into an upper and a lower compartment, and the effigy of St. Catherine, taken by Pinturicchio from her monument in the Church of S. Maria ſopra Minerva at Rome, forms both a part of the dividing line, and alſo the natural centrepoint of the whole work. Out of the ſtigma in her right hand (for St. Catherine like St. Francis had the five ſacred wounds) ſprings the white lily of purity, which bends over and ſeems to veil her placid countenance. Juſt above, at the back of the picture, ſits Pius, and pronounces the canonization; his cardinals and miniſters ſit or ſtand around. In the lower compartment all are ſtanding; there are Dominicans, Auguſtinians, and other churchmen, together with a repreſentative of that ſiſterhood of which St. Catherine was ſo great an ornament; in the front are alſo four very ſtriking figures, of whom the outermoſt on the ſpectator's left hand, looking out of the picture, is ſaid to be a likeneſs of Raphael; next to him ſtands Pinturicchio himſelf; then lower, with his back turned and ſide-face hardly ſeen, Andrea del Sarto: one would like to know whether the handſome young man in the middle foreground repreſents any member of the Piccolomini family. To his right, in the robe of a Dominican, ſtands Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, and juſt behind his head we ſee a female face, apparently that of one of the ſiſters of St. Dominic.

X.

PIVS . CVM . ANCON . EXPEDITIONE . IN . TVRCOS . ACCELERARET . EX . FEBRE . INTERIIT . CVIVS . ANIMAM . HEREMITA . CAMALDVLEN . IN . COELVM . EFFERRI . VIDIT . CORPVS . VERO . PATRVM . DECRETO . IN . VRBEM . REPORTATVM . EST.

When, at Mantua, Pope Pius had declared that he would himſelf head the cruſade, the world paid little heed to his words,—nay, even doubted his ſincerity. So ſlowly had he travelled to the congreſs, ſo leiſurely had he returned, long lingering at Siena and dreading to behold the gates of Rome, that men credited him at moſt with a return of his old deſire to ſee far lands, and to viſit the Eaſt as he had long ago exhauſted the Weſt. And as time went on their doubts ſeemed better grounded; for the Pope became entangled in the petty politics of Italy, or was buſy advancing his nephews, or liſtened to the learned flatteries of a Filelfo, or ſpent placid days on the beautiful hills, admiring the views, and enjoying the light talk of the circle round his chair. There was no ſign of fervour in the cauſe abroad, or of vigour in the home government; the Pontificate of Pius has none of that deciſiveneſs and boldneſs which marks the rule of a powerful and original prince. Such ſums as had been gathered in by Calixtus III. for the Turk-war he waſted on needleſs generoſities or in local ſtrife, or

paying expenſes of legates and miſſionaries to Hungary and elſewhere; the ſums which might have equipped the Cruſade went to diſtant parts to ſtir up an intereſt which never was arouſed. The Turk-tithe decreed at Mantua found delay or oppoſition everywhere; the great embaſſy from the Eaſt, led by Fra Lodovico of Bologna, a Franciſcan adventurer, after making much ſtir, collapſed; far from ſecuring the union of Eaſt and Weſt, or providing a ſolid baſis for a cruſade, the whole affair was moſtly a deluſion, and Fra Lodovico little better than an impoſtor dealing in travellers' tales.

And now news of the loſs of one outpoſt of Chriſtendom after another echoed with hollow ſound through Europe. The Morea fell into Moſlem hands; Rhodes and Cyprus, once bulwarks againſt the Eaſt, went down before the ſtorm; the poſſeſſions of the Venetians and Genoeſe were ſnatched away with ſtartling rapidity; the principality of Sinope and the ſo-called empire of Trebizond were conquered; the heroic Scanderbeg was forced to make peace: on every ſide the Moſlem advance ſeemed irreſiſtible. Under theſe circumſtances Pius II., perhaps deſpairing as to the help of Europe, eſſayed the trial of that weapon which had ſtood him in good ſtead in old times, his claſſic ſkill in compoſition. It ſeems incredible that he could have believed in its power over the Turk. Still, he ſet himſelf to write, in his moſt eloquent and beautiful ſtyle, a long letter to the Sultan, Mahomet II.; credulous Chriſtendom appears to have heard rumours of the intereſt taken by this great hero in the faith of Chriſt; his liberality and toleration, qualities ſo far beyond their ken, ſeemed to them proofs that he muſt

be already half convinced. And ſo Pius penned his famous letter to the Great Turk; he uſes plentiful argument, in his beſt Latin manner; he points out that a little water, rightly beſprent, would make Mahomet the globe's emperor, the new Conſtantine, Lord of Eaſt and Weſt. Whether this ſtrange document ever reached the Sultan we know not; no trace of any genuine reply exiſts: the earneſt oratory of the head of Chriſtendom was completely thrown away.

And now, the danger having overwhelmed much of Greece, Venice began to feel her threatened poſition; and when Paſquale Malipiero, moſt pacific of Doges, died in 1462, the Republic indicated a change in its foreign policy by electing Chriſtoforo Moro in his room.

At this time Pius laid before the cardinals his reſolve to undertake the holy war; old as he was and worn, he would ſet forth, and Chriſtian princes ſeeing his example for very ſhame would follow in his ſteps. This thought henceforth occupied his mind; and, with a view to this object, he ſtrained every nerve to perſuade the unwilling Chriſtians to make peace among themſelves; he mediated between the Emperor Frederick and Matthias of Hungary; he believed that he could allay the jealouſies between Louis XI. and Duke Philip of Burgundy, between France and England; he ſigned a league with Burgundy and Venice, according to which the Duke bound himſelf to take ſhip with the Venetians, and the Pope to join them at Ancona: the Doge himſelf ſhould head the Venetian force. Early in 1464 the Republic was fighting againſt the Turks in the Morea; but the other Italian powers held back; even

Philip of Burgundy broke his word and ſent only a reduced force under the Baſtard of Burgundy, while he himſelf ſtayed quietly at home. The Pope's contingent ſank low; though the diſcovery of alum beds in the Papal territory near Tolfa provided ſome reſources, which Pius regarded as God's ſpecial gift for the war, ſtill he was unable to fulfil his promiſes. Juſt as the reluctant cardinals evaded their part, and the Signoria of Venice had to undertake for them to provide galleys, ſo Pius, after naming as his own contingent ten galleys and many leſſer veſſels, failed to equip more than three ſhips; and of theſe only two lay in the roads of Ancona when he reached that town. Even at this critical time he ſeemed more anxious about the recovery of his health at the baths of Petriuolo, and for the advancement of his Sieneſe kinsfolk, than for the preparations neceſſary to the expedition. His envoys, however, were to ſome extent ſucceſsful; ſoldiers of fortune, whom the tranquillity of Germany had reduced to penury and, worſe ſtill, to peace, ſtreamed in crowds over the Alps to Rome or Venice or Ancona, allured by hope of booty or love of adventure; thouſands came from Spain, France, and Burgundy. When they arrived, nothing was ready for them; they were led by no captains of note, nor was any one ſet to take them in hand; it was a mere mob of fighting-men. Deceived and diſguſted, they turned back in no happy humour: few reached their homes again; famine and peſt, quarrels among themſelves, the vengeance of the peaſantry for ruin cauſed by their robberies and murders, thinned their miſerable ranks, and relieved Europe from the moſt troubleſome of her children. The

cruſade of Pius II. was not altogether without incidental advantages.

On June 18, 1464, while the ferment ſtill was high, Pius ſolemnly took the croſs in St. Peter's, "an aged man, with head of ſnow and trembling limbs," as he ſaid at the altar; he declared that he thus accepted the part to which he had bound himſelf and to which he had invited Chriſtendom. Now, thought he, the lay princes will for very ſhame no longer hold back: he hoped to find at Ancona the Doge of Venice, Sforza's ſons, and help from many an Italian city; he reckoned on the Burgundians, who had already ſet forth; for he knew not that at that moment they were making Marſeilles their Capua, while they pretended to await his orders.

Immediately after this diſcourſe he diſmiſſed thoſe cardinals who were to ſtay behind, and ſet out for Ancona: the farewell of the Romans, as his barge ſlowly ſtemmed the Tiber, moved him to tears: "Farewell, Rome," he cried, "living thou ſhalt never ſee me more." Already he was ſtricken with fever; but he made light of it, and ſet forth with a reſolute ſpirit. The way was rough; the weather parching hot; he lay in the cabin of his barge, then in his litter, as one half-dead; the ſight of diſcontented cruſaders returning from Ancona, nearer to curſing than to bleſſing, increaſed his depreſſion; the ſlow journey went on with painful pauſes: not till July 18, juſt a month after the croſs-taking in St. Peter's, did Pius reach Ancona. There were ſtill ſome cruſaders lingering there, but the ſhips from Venice had not come. Worn out with waiting, the adventurers ſlipped away, and when at laſt a little

fleet appeared, there were none to embark. By that time it was clear, even to Pius, that the undertaking had come to naught; he paſſed the weary time, racked with fever, diſcuſſing and conſulting with his friends. At one moment he propoſed to croſs over to Durazzo, and thence to iſſue one more appeal for help; at another time he was reſolved to go no lower than Brindiſi; again, he turned his eyes on Raguſa, and wiſhed to ſave that city from the Turk. Still the Venetians did not come, and his diſorder deepened to a more alarming form; weakneſs, the long journey in the heat, the manifold diſappointments and anxieties, all told on his enfeebled frame; and when at laſt, in the middle of Auguſt, the Doge's fleet hove in ſight, it was with difficulty he could even be lifted to a window to ſee the long-wiſhed-for ſails.

It is clear that in this laſt freſco Pinturicchio has taken the artiſt's liberties with hiſtoric truth; for no ſuch ſcene could poſſibly have occurred as that which he depicts. Never, after the arrival of the Venetian fleet, did the dying Pope leave his chamber, yet here we ſee him, borne on the ſhoulders of ſix, down at the inner harbour, while Chriſtoforo Moro kneels at his feet on one ſide, and an oriental at the other. Behind the Doge is a page who holds his lord's hat, a pleaſing face and figure, which has alſo been ſaid to repreſent the youthful Raphael; behind him again are Eaſtern merchants: on the other ſide, a Levantine trader, looking ſtraight out of the picture, and behind him a little crowd of citizens. Not one eccleſiaſtic, not one man-at-arms, not one prince or captain ſtands among the groups; no warlike fervour or religious enthu-

ſiaſm gleams through the picture; all is placid, as if the Pope's viſit has arouſed no intereſt, his cruſade no high endeavour. His face is ſad and worn; he turns his back, as though in helpleſs hopeleſſneſs, on all the ſcene; in the inner harbour one of his galleys is ſlipping out to ſea; we can make out the Piccolomini coat-of-arms on the round bucklers which hang from her bulwarks; out in the roads beyond, lie the Venetian ſhips, with ſails ſet, as though but juſt arriving; at the Pontiff's back ſtraight and ſad riſes the funereal cypreſs. A look of gloom and ſadneſs fills all faces; up in the ſky we ſee again two ominous birds, as in the third freſco; this time a weſtern hawk purſues an eaſtern pheaſant, or is it that the imperial eagle and the Burgundian bird are together haſtening Eaſtwards? The whole piece, though one of the moſt pleaſing of the ſeries, lacks real feeling; at ſo touching an hour, the death-point of the hero of all the tale, the moment of final failure in the great undertaking of his life, the painter has only in mind how he may flatter the Piccolomini, and pleaſe their pride, not how he may render on his canvas the really tragic character of the ſcene.

For tragic it indeed became: as if finally to deſtroy any heroic colouring it might have worn, the Venetians loudly expreſſed their belief that the dying Pope did but feign pleaſure at the arrival of their ſhips, and that his illneſs was ſome trifling malady, exaggerated ſimply that he might eſcape the neceſſity of ſetting forth on the great expedition. Not till he had ſent his phyſician to learn the truth from thoſe in attendance on the Pope, was the Doge convinced as to the grim reality of the Pontiff's illneſs, and

the nearneſs of the end. At ſunſet on the twelfth of Auguſt, the Venetian ſhips had firſt been deſcried; about the ſame hour on the fourteenth, Pius II. tranquilly bade farewell to life. Thus to have died, on the point of ſetting forth, ſeemed to ſhow that he had periſhed a martyr to his cauſe. The truth was that the cruſade was a hopeleſs failure, and that by dying Pius eſcaped from great embarraſſment and difficulty, and from the ſtill more alarming riſk of ridicule; ſo great an effort, with ſo ſmall reſult, the ever-welcome combination for the ſcoffer, was at once forgotten when death ſtood between the baffled Pontiff and his ſchemes. Like many another, Pius was happy in the moment of his death; it cloſed an active life, which yet ſomewhat lacked vigour and originality, with a gleam of pathos and heroiſm, which ſeemed to give to his character a touch of greatneſs. Yet the whole attempt had little power and foreſight; it was as if with the bows and arrows of an earlier civilization the Pope would fight againſt the newer forces as they attacked him. Not by reviving the old cruſading heat, nor by furbiſhing the ruſty weapons of paſt ages, could the world reſiſt the Moſlem dominance: the fifteenth century had ſeen more than one attempt to ſolve the problems of the time, nor was it at all unnatural that a Pope ſhould look back towards the ages of faith; yet the advance of the future lay along fairly marked lines, and Europe, juſt waking to a new life, refuſed to liſten to one who called her to reſume the habits of the paſt. Chriſtendom, too, was paralyzed; the older feudal governments were periſhing, the new monarchies not yet eſtabliſhed; there was no unity of thought or rule; and the Turkiſh power, which

had theſe elements of ſtrength, could fearleſſly advance into the very heart of Europe. Yet this cruſading failure is the nobleſt thing in the hiſtory of Pius II.: though neither one of the firſt ſcholars of the Renaiſſance, nor remarkable as an adminiſtrator, nor to be counted among great popes, nor a pattern of moral excellence, nor a ſaint in faith or emotion, ſtill, almoſt alone in Europe, he refuſed to ſit down tamely under the inſult of a Turkiſh conqueſt of half Chriſtendom. Almoſt alone, Pius tried to hinder the eſtabliſhment in Europe of an alien race which has held its ground even to our own day, and which at this moment ſtill clings with a dying graſp to the laſt remnants of that Empire it had already won when at Ancona the worn-out Pope laid down the burden of his life.

THE END.

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THE LIFE

OF

BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI.

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BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI,

OF ANJOU AND BURGUNDY.

BY

OSCAR BROWNING.

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PREFACE.

THE materials I have used for the present life of Bartolomeo Colleoni have been in the main the following. I have taken as a foundation the work of Spino, "Historia della vita et fatti dell' eccelentissimo Capitano di guerra Bartolomeo Coglione scritta per M. Pietro Spino, In Vinetia appresso Gratioso Percaccino MDLXIX.," and the life of Colleoni in "Il Castello di Cavernago ei Conti Martinengo Colleoni, memorie storiche dell' avvocato Giuseppe Maria Bonomi, Bergamo, Fratelli Bolis 1884." Signor Bonomi has a large acquaintance with the archives of the Martinengo family, and has been instrumental in recovering the house of Colleoni in Bergamo for the municipality. The second edition of Spino, published at Bergamo, MDCCXXXII, contains two funeral orations and some additional information. The life of Spino is founded on that by Cornazzano, a poet who lived with Colleoni at Malpaga. The life, written in Latin, is contained in the Thesaurus of Grævius. I have not found it of any great value. I am also indebted to a life of Colleoni by Professor Gabriele Rosa, kindly lent me by the

author. He is well acquainted with the history of the time of which he treats. The "Annali d' Italia," by Muratori, have been constantly in my hands, as also the "Histoire des Republiques Italiennes," by Sismondi. There is some difficulty in correlating the personal history of Colleoni with the history of his time, because his biographers and panegyrists attribute to him exploits which, in ordinary historians, are referred to other people. No one who attempts to write the life of Colleoni can dispense with the magnificently printed work, "Institutio Pii Loci Magnificae Pietatis Bergomi &c. Bergomi MDCLV.," which contains, also, Colleoni's will, with its codicils. I found in the library at Bergamo abstracts of papers in the Venetian archives relating to Colleoni; these I had copied, and I have used them in my book. I have paid several visits to Bergamo and its neighbourhood, and in the exploration of sites connected with Colleoni's life have been greatly assisted by Da Ponte's "Dizionario Odeporico" Bergamo, 1819, an admirable work of its kind.

The best authority for the visit of King Christian of Denmark to Italy I have found to be the "Holstein Chronicle," quoted by Hvitfeld in his History of Christian I., published in 1599. It has been translated for me from the black letter Danish by Mr. Bain of the British Museum, to whom the best thanks of the Arundel Society are due. I have been able to make some corrections from the German translation of the same chronicle in the British Museum. I am much obliged to Professor Henry Middleton and Mr.

Edmund Oldfield for having looked through the proof sheets, and also to Mr. Charles Sayle, of St. John's College, Cambridge, for assisting me in preparing the index.

It is possible that many interesting details of Colleoni's life have escaped my research. In this case I shall be obliged to anyone who will communicate them to me.

Oscar Browning.

King's College, Cambridge,
March 16th, 1891.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Head and Bust of Colleoni, from the Equestrian Statue at Venice, by Verocchio.

Portrait of Colleoni, from Spino's "Life of Colleoni."

Medal of Colleoni, by M. Guidizzani.

Equestrian Portrait of Colleoni, in his House at Bergamo.

Armorial Bearings, from Spino's "Life of Colleoni."

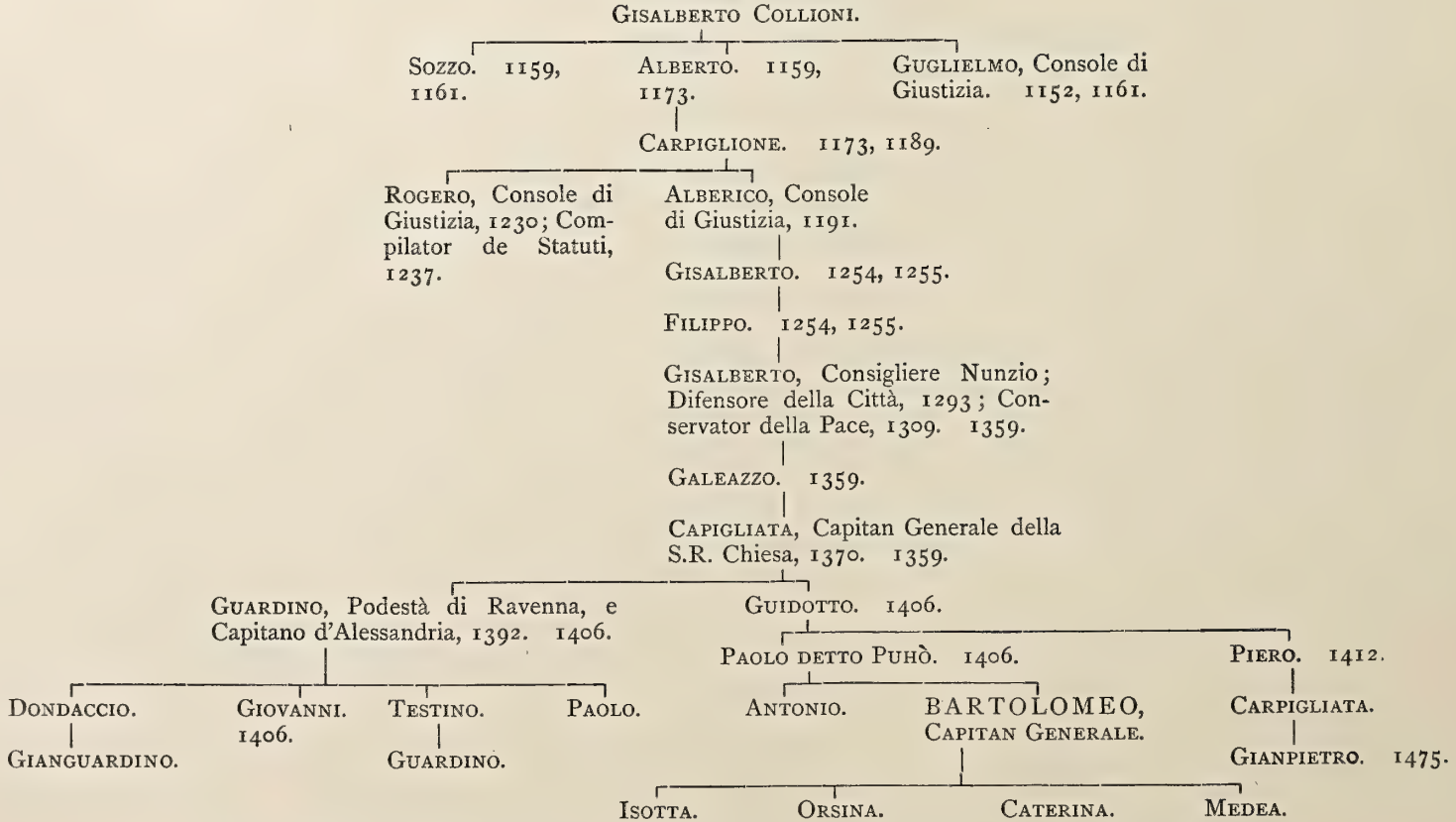
Portrait of Colleoni in the Franciscan Convent, founded by him at Martinengo.

The Castle of Malpaga, near Bergamo.

Facsimile of Colleoni's Handwriting, from the Public Library at Bergamo.

GENEALOGY OF THE COLLEONI FAMILY.

(FROM SPINO.)



The dates appended to the names refer to the years in which the persons to whom they belong were known to have been alive.

THE LIFE OF BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI.

AMONG the many monuments of mediæval Italy which cover the plains of Lombardy, none is more interesting than the castle of Trezzo, seated on the right bank of the Adda about midway on its passage from the gorges of the lower Alps to the broad waters of the Po. The green rushing river winds round a promontory which is almost an island. The massive castle rises in the midst. It is built of closely compacted blocks of pudding-stone mixed with courses of brick. In its present ruined condition it presents an untidy appearance to a close inspection, but in the days of its prime it was faced with smooth slabs of stone on which no foot or scaling-ladder could rest. Descending steeply into the river or rising from foundations of precipitous rock, it seemed to defy attack. It was connected with the left bank by a triple bridge of strong construction, the lower path leading to the dungeons, the middle way to the quarters of the garrison, while the upper road would conduct the master of the castle and his ladies to their chambers. The castle was built by Barnabò Visconti, and the bridge was destroyed by Carmagnola. From the tower of the keep the eye ranges over a view rich in beauty and in historical asso-

ciations. To the south the plain of Lombardy is lost in the haze, watered by canals, teeming with maize and vine, dotted with countless *campanili.* To the east, near at hand, is the hill city of Bergamo, far away to the west is discerned the slender spire which crowns the marble *duomo* of Milan. To the north the eye, after plunging from the giddy height into the lovely waters of the Adda, rises to the hills. The *Resegone* of Lecco bounds the view; still nearer are the hills which encircle the monastery of Pontida, the birthplace of the Lombard league. Conspicuous at the edge of the plain is a conical hill topped by a ruin called the Torre dei Colleoni, the birthplace of that noble family, and just below is the church-tower of Solza, a little village on the Adda about six miles from Trezzo, where Bartolomeo was born in the year 1400. The room in which he saw the light is still reverenced by his fellow-countrymen.

The Colleoni were an ancient family of Bergamo. The city was torn asunder, like other Italian towns, by the rival factions of Guelf and Ghibelline. The Ghibelline cause was sustained by the Suardi, the Guelf by the Rivola and the Colleoni. A document dated Bergamo, 1101, bears the signature of Olricus Sivardus, and Gisilbertus Co-léone, the lion's head, which testifies to the ancient spelling of the name. In 1182 and 1189 we find a Carpiglione Coglione holding an honourable position at Isola and at Calusco. The son of Carpiglione was Alberigo, of Alberigo Ghisalberto, who was a judge, of Ghisalberto Galeazzo, of Galeazzo Carpigliata, who was a powerful captain under Pope Urban V. (1362-1370). Carpigliata had two sons, Guardino and Guidotto; Guidotto

had a son, Paulo, familiarly corrupted into Puhò, who was the father of Bartolomeo. We read of a Sozzan dei Coglioni who was appointed a judge of appeal in Bergamo with remainder to his descendants by the Emperor Frederick II. in the year 1224, also of a Tresado Coglioni, who became Podestà of Lodi in 1270. In 1373, Barnabò Visconti, in order to avenge the death of his son Ambrogio, attacked Guglielmo Colleoni, and drove him into the monastery of Pontida, and put him to death after he had surrendered upon promise of having his life spared.

The name of Bartolomeo's mother was Ricardona Valvasori dei Saiguini. His father was not very wealthy, but he possessed the two castles of Solza and Chignolo. On September 3rd, 1402, when Colleoni was two years old, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, ruler of Milan, died at Marignano on the Lambro; he divided his dominions between his two legitimate sons Gian Maria and Filippo Maria, and an illegitimate son Gabriello whom he had recognized. As his children were under age he confided the regency to his wife Caterina, with the assistance of a council which consisted of Francesco Gonzaga, lord of Mantua, Count Antonio of Urbino, Jacopo del Verme, Pandolfo Malateste, Count Alberico da Barbiano, and Francesco Barbavara of Novara. The regents soon began to quarrel amongst themselves and to rebel against the Duchess, being disgusted at the favour which she exhibited towards Barbavara. The large territory so laboriously amassed was violently torn asunder. Ugo Cavalcabò seized upon Cremona and Crema, Franchino Rusca made himself master of Como, the Guelf party occupied a large part of

Brescia, Bergamo was torn asunder by conflicting factions. In the general confusion Puhò Colleoni seized upon the castle of Trezzo, a most important bulwark of the Milanese territory towards the territory of Bergamo. It is said that Puhò, having established himself at Trezzo, incited his first cousins Giovanni, Dondaccio, Testino and Paolo to share his fortunes, as they were exiled from Bergamo and were in a poor condition. One day the four brothers, led by Giovanni the eldest, attacked Puhò as he was playing at draughts, killed him, and threw his widow into one of the dungeons of the fortress. Bartolomeo took refuge with a schoolmaster in the mountains of Bergamo, until, after the lapse of a year, he rejoined his mother at Solza. Even here he was not left in peace, but was thrown into prison by Giorgio Benzone, lord of Crema, until he could pay from his mother's dowry some debts which were due from his elder brother Antonio to that tyrant.

On May 16th, 1412, Gian Maria Visconti, who was detested for his cruelty, was murdered by a body of conspirators while he was hearing mass in the church of S. Gottardo. His brother Filippo Maria now became Duke of Milan, and his first object was to recover the dominions of his father. The castle of Trezzo was taken by the *condottiere* Carmagnola in 1416, and the Colleoni were turned out. Probably before this time Bartolomeo had entered the service of Filippo Arcelli, lord of Piacenza, where he received the ordinary education of a page. In course of time Arcelli was himself defeated by Filippo Maria Visconti, and the bodies of his son and brothers were impaled upon the walls before his

eyes. Colleoni had to fly for his life. He betook himself to the south of Italy, where the principal *condottiere* captains of the age were then engaged. At this time the kingdom of Naples was in a state of the utmost confusion. The titular Queen was Joanna II., the degenerate descendant of the great Charles of Anjou. Pope Martin V. who had first crowned and then found that he could not tolerate her, had called in as a rival Louis III. of Anjou, a scion of the house of Valois. Joanna in 1421 proclaimed Alfonso of Aragon her successor, whom thirteen years later she deserted for René of Anjou, titular Duke of Lorraine. After a series of long and ruinous wars, peace was eventually secured by the entrance of Alfonso into Naples in 1422. The grand constable of the Queen was Sforza Attendolo, who from being a simple wood-cutter had risen to the position of the most powerful *condottiere* of his age. The Pope now sent for Sforza and persuaded him to support the cause of the Duke of Anjou. He marched to Naples, returned to Queen Joanna his insignia as constable, and ordered her to renounce the crown. Besides the proclamation of Alfonso she thought it advisable to call in the assistance of Braccio, count of Montone, whom she invested with the principality of Capua. His reputation as a mercenary general was only second to that of Sforza. Braccio took possession of Sulmona and marched to the capture of Aversa, where Sforza met him. At this time Jacopo Caldora, one of the barons who had revolted against Queen Joanna and had joined Sforza, suddenly came over to the side of Braccio. The two generals marched together to Naples, and arrived there on June 26th, 1421, just at the moment when

King Alfonso entered the harbour with his fleet. Not long after this Queen Joanna quarrelled with Alfonso and called Sforza to her aid.

Into the surging sea of discord the young Bartolomeo was thrown. He first attached himself to Braccio, who knowing nothing of him except his appearance, placed him amongst his *ragazzi*, who were little better than stable-boys. So he left Braccio and joined Caldora, who was then fighting on the side of Sforza. A story that he crossed the sea to take service in France, was captured by pirates near Marseilles, and was brought back to Naples, has probably but little foundation. Caldora first gave him command of twenty horses and then of fifteen more. It is said that he attracted the attention, and possibly the love, of Queen Joanna, who gave him the well-known badge, which he constantly used, of two lions' heads joined by a red band, between two narrower bands of white.

Towards the close of 1423, Braccio undertook the siege of the city of Aquila, which had declared for Queen Joanna against the King of Aragon. The siege lasted for more than a year. It was during its progress that Sforza, hastening to the relief of the city, was drowned at the mouth of the river Pescara on January 4th, 1424. The stream was swollen by the tide, Sforza was impatient to reach the opposite bank. When in the midst of the stream he turned round to catch a drowning page by the hair. His horse lost its footing, and he fell from the saddle. Twice he raised mailed hands in supplication, but his helmet and his armour weighed him down, and his body was never recovered.

Braccio had a presentiment that he should not long survive his rival. He was defeated by Caldora on June 2nd, 1424, outside the walls of Aquila. He was wounded, but not mortally, refused to have his hurt attended to or to take any food, and died in a few days. The principality which he had founded was broken up. In these operations Colleoni obtained great distinction. During the next four years Colleoni remained in the service of Caldora. This general sent his son Giovanni Antonio into the Marches to secure some of the possessions of Braccio. As he was too young to be entrusted with the entire command of the army, Colleoni was appointed to look after him. He apparently did everything that was expected of him, and returned with distinction to Naples. In August, 1428, the people of Bologna rose against the Pope, burned the palace of the cardinal-legate, and established a republic. Pope Martin begged from Queen Joanna the assistance of Caldora, who at the close of the year marched against the city. Bologna was not reduced to obedience till the end of August, 1429.

After this Colleoni left Caldora, and took service under Carmagnola, who was commander-in-chief of the armies of Venice. On October 15th, 1431, Carmagnola was besieging Cremona, and seeing that the garrison were keeping very careless watch, sent a detachment to seize the fortress of San Luca, to the north of the town. They captured it, and held it for two days, but not being supported by the general, were obliged to retire. This was the principal cause of the misunderstanding which now arose between Carmagnola and the Republic, which eventually led to his execution. Pietro

Spino tells us in his biography of Colleoni, that the leaders of the attack were Colleoni, Mocenigo da Lugo, and the son of Ugolino Cavalcabò, lord of Cremona, and that Colleoni was the first to mount the battlements. Cavalcabò expected to obtain the assistance of his countrymen within the walls. Whatever may have been the true circumstances of the case, Carmagnola was suddenly summoned to Venice on April 8th, 1432, was brought to trial before the Council of Ten, and on May 5th in the same year was beheaded, with a gag between his teeth, between the two columns on the Piazetta of St. Mark.

Colleoni now took service under the great Republic. Carmagnola had entrusted him with forty horsemen, he now had command of eighty. It must be remembered that in the mercenary companies each lance or *cavallo* comprised three men, the *caporale* or man-at-arms, the *piatta* or squire, and the *ragazzo* or page. The first two rode chargers, and the page had a pony as a nag. Five lances usually made up a *posta*, and five *poste* made a *bandiera*. There was also generally an officer for every ten lances. Peace had been made between Milan and Venice by the treaty of Ferrara, signed on April 19th, 1428. The Venetian dominion was extended as far as the Adda, including the great cities of Brescia and Bergamo. The truce did not last long. Francesco Sforza, who had entered into the service of the Visconti, urged a renewal of the struggle, in which Carmagnola played a prominent part on the side of Venice. After his execution, the Venetian army crossed the Oglio, and took the castles of Bordelano, Romanengo, Fontanella, and Soncino. They over-

ran the Val Camonica and the Valtellina. Piccinino, the general of the Visconti, was at first beaten, but won afterwards victories at Lecco. Colleoni is said to have been equally conspicuous in victory and in defeat. Together with the famous *condottiere*, Stefano da Narni, called Gattamelata, he collected the fugitives, and brought them through the mountain paths of the Val Sassina and the Val San Martino. The Venetians now intrusted the command of their armies to Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, who recovered the Val Camonica and the Valtellina.

A second peace of Ferrara was concluded in April, 1433, On February 2nd, 1435, Joanna II. of Naples died. Her will appointed as her heir René, Count of Provence and Duke of Anjou, the father of the unfortunate Margaret, wife of Henry VI. of England. The validity of this testament was contested by Alfonso, who hurried from Sicily to defend his kingdom, while the Pope declared that in the failure of the heirs of Charles of Anjou, the crown of Naples reverted to him as a Papal fief. The Duke of Milan took the side of René against Alfonso, and sent a Genoese fleet to the rescue of Gaeta. The fleet of Alfonso was defeated in August, 1435, off the island of Ponza, and Alfonso, with his brother John, King of Navarre, was taken prisoner. They were conducted first to Genoa and then to Milan, where Alfonso by his ability and charm completely subdued the capricious Filippo Maria. He persuaded him that it was his real interest to prefer the advancement of Aragon to that of France, and left him a devoted friend. This sudden and romantic change produced a great impression in Europe.

The Pope was in despair. Soon after this the Florentine exiles persuaded Filippo Maria to attack their city, and a league was formed between Florence and Venice, so that the great war began again in the spring of 1437. Gonzaga was ordered to cross the Adda, which he attempted to do by a bridge of fishing-boats; he was, however, compelled by Piccinino to retreat, and retired to Bolgare.

Spino relates a great service which Colleoni rendered to the Venetians at this time. While the Venetian army was posted at Bolgare, on the Cherio, Piccinino, in considerably greater strength, was encamped near Malpaga, about two miles distant. Piccinino proceeded to occupy Monticelli in the rear of the Venetians, and a retreat became necessary for them. Gonzaga advised the abandonment of all their baggage and encampments, and a hasty night march to Palazzuolo, where they would be able to cross the Oglio. Colleoni opposed the cowardly conduct of deserting their standards, and argued eloquently for an immediate advance to Pontoglio, which was easier and shorter. Piccinino, reinforced by Ludovico Gonzaga, who deserted the Venetians and his father, attacked them in the rear, but the Venetian army got away safely. The field in which this great danger assailed them has ever since been known as the "Field of Fear." By these movements Bergamo was left deserted, but Colleoni and Diotesalvi Lupo hastened to its defence. Piccinino, instead of attacking it, marched to the castle of Calepio on the Oglio which was defended by Count Trusardo. After holding out twenty days, it surrendered on May 25th, 1437, and was destroyed by Piccinino. That general then laid waste the territory of the

Bergamasque, but, being successfully resisted in the mountains by Bartolomeo Colleoni, turned his attention to Brescia. The Venetian army had, however, suffered such considerable losses, that the Senate transferred the command from Gonzaga to Gattamelata. Colleoni, seeing that Bergamo was safe, recovered the castle of Gorzone, in the Val Camonica, from the enemy, and hastened to the post of danger at Brescia. Here he received an embassy from the Venetians. A hundred lances were added to his command, and he was placed in entire control of the infantry.

In the year 1439 Gattamelata was besieged in Brescia. If the garrison was to hold out it was absolutely necessary to diminish the number of mouths which had to be fed. The plain was held by the enemy's troops, and the only escape was through the mountains. Leaving a force of six hundred horse and a thousand foot behind them, Gattamelata and Colleoni passed by Santo Eusebio, the lake of Idro, and the Val di Ledro into the valley of the Adige. They were met on the banks of the Sarca by the troops of Piccinino under the command of Ludovico dal Verme, but they succeeded in driving them back, and on the fourth day from leaving Brescia, reached the territory of Verona in safety. Passing into the Val Lagarnia they took the towns of Borgo, Corvaria, and Penetre, and especially the town of Torbole, situated on the extremity of the lake which was specially convenient for the convoy of provisions to Brescia. That town now began seriously to feel the pangs of hunger. Soldo, the historian, relates that he saw a hundred children in the market-place crying, "Bread, bread for the love of God!" The population

fed on dogs, horses, and even weeds. At the end of the siege the thirty thousand inhabitants were reduced to fifteen thousand, and wolves came down into the city itself to seek their prey. Piccinino was in possession of Peschiera and the southern shores of Garda. The Venetians came to the conclusion that the only means of forcing a passage was to convey a flotilla on to the lake of Garda. In the space of fifteen days, with the help of two thousand oxen and an expense of fifteen thousand sequins, they placed upon the lake twenty-five boats and six galleys. The ships were rowed and towed up the Adige and dragged by main force over the mountain which separates the valley of that river from the lake at Torbole. Spino gives the credit of this bold project to Colleoni, but the Venetian historians assign it to Niccolò Sorbolo, a native of Candia, who was certainly the principal engineer in the operation. Shortly after this Colleoni's command was increased to three hundred lances, and he was intrusted with the government and the defence of the city of Verona. Francesco Sforza now joined the Venetian army in the hope of one day succeeding to the inheritance of the Visconti. He united his troops with those of Gattamelata at the head of the lake of Garda. Piccinino was encamped not far off. The allies attacked him at the castle of Tenna, completely defeated him and took Gonzaga, Cesare Martinengo and Sacramoro Visconti prisoners. Piccinino escaped, carried off in a sack, like a dead body, by a sturdy German. He reappeared at Verona, which he succeeded in wresting from the Venetians, all but the quarters of Castel Vecchio and San Felice. Three days later Sforza and Colleoni succeeded in

recovering it. Gattamelata became seriously ill, and was obliged to retire to Padua, where he died three years later. In the following year, 1440, Piccinino was sent by the Duke of Milan into the Marches and Tuscany. While there he heard of the victory which the Venetian flotilla on the lake of Garda had gained over that of the Duke of Milan. This led to the raising of the siege of Brescia, which Sforza and Colleoni entered in triumph in June, 1440.

Colleoni continued to fight under the orders of Sforza against Piccinino, and a number of his most illustrious exploits were attributed to his chief. In the battle of Cignano, which lasted from morning to evening, Sforza would undoubtedly have been defeated if it had not been for the assistance of Colleoni who was summoned from Brescia. Shortly after this when Piccinino crossed the Oglio at Ponte Vico into the territory of Cremona, Colleoni occupied the passage of Pontoglio, and was thus able to defend the whole of the Bergamasque. Another conflict took place between Romano and Martinengo of which Sforza gave the full credit to Colleoni. The peace of Capriana was at last made at the close of July, 1441. It was confirmed by the marriage of Sforza to Bianca Maria the daughter of Filippo Visconti, then sixteen years old. Bianca brought with her the city of Cremona as a dowry, and the beautiful church of San Sigismundo, about two miles outside the walls, was erected in 1463 to commemorate the event. The altar-piece of the high altar painted by Giulio Campi represents Francesco Sforza and his wife being presented to the Virgin by San Grisante and St. Jerome.

In recognition of these services the Council of Ten at Venice passed a decree on April 3rd, 1441, declaring Colleoni to be one of the principal *condottieri* of the republic and necessary to their security. They confirmed him in his emoluments and invested him with the fiefs of Romano, Covo and Antegnate. Romano is a large town south of Bergamo formed out of a Roman prætorian camp. The castle was frequently inhabited by Colleoni, and a large number of houses still standing, decorated with the lion of Saint Mark, were left by Colleoni to the municipality in his will. Covo and Antegnate are villages in the neighbourhood of Romano both provided with castles. Colleoni was to have all the possessions of Counts Pietro and Giovanni di Covo, who had rebelled against the state, but on the condition that these lands must first come into the possession of the Republic. This condition was fulfilled by the conclusion of the peace of which we have already spoken, and the investiture was confirmed by a ducal patent on March 4th, 1443. This later date corresponds with Colleoni's visit to Milan, and the step was probably taken with the design of retaining him in the service of the Republic. Piccinino, discontented with the peace which deprived him of his employment, took service with the Pope, and induced his Holiness to deprive Sforza of his position as standard-bearer of the Church. According to the historian Sanuto, a new league was formed on October 16th, 1442, between King Alfonso, Piccinino, and the Duke of Milan against the Venetians, the Florentines and Francesco Sforza. Colleoni marched with a body of fifteen hundred lances to fight against Piccinino. At this time Gherardo

Dandolo was *provedditore* of Venice, an excellent man but rough-mannered. It was his duty to reduce the armies of the Republic to a peace footing, and consequently to deprive Colleoni of some of his soldiers. Colleoni complaining of this, and demanding thirty-four thousand ducats which were due to him as arrears of pay, was met by haughty and contemptuous language. Consequently he left the service of the Republic to their great dismay and joined Filippo Maria Visconti, the command of the militia held by him being given to Diotesalvi Lupo, who was the first to arm infantry with guns and pistols.

Colleoni visited Milan at the beginning of 1443 and was received with great honour by the Duke. He was entertained with all his family at the public expense. The duke frequently invited him to dinner, and held long private conversations with him. He also invested him with the castle of Adorno in the territory of Pavia, which was to serve as a residence for his wife Madonna Tisbe, to whom he also made a present of valuable jewels. The consequence of this was that Colleoni deserted the service of Venice for that of the Duke. Sanuto writes in his diary on the date September 28th, 1443, "News arrived of the flight of Bartolommeo "Colleoni from our signory and his passage to the Duke "of Milan. To begin with he had no more than three lances, "and the signory gave him two hundred lances and a hundred "and fifty hired infantry. He is also our subject." This "treason" as it was called produced a great effect on the mind of the Venetians.

The first expedition of Colleoni under his new master

was to Sinigaglia to take a position between the two armies of Piccinino and Sforza. His instructions were to stay there till he was attacked, and to prevent too serious a conflict taking place between them. He was successful in this difficult task, but after his recall Sforza defeated Nicolo Piccinino at Monte Lamo, and afterwards his son Francesco with great slaughter at Mont' Olmo. Piccinino was so overcome with grief that he died at Milan in the middle of October, 1444.

In the following year Colleoni was sent to repress some disturbances in the territory of Bologna, and in 1446 to recover Cremona for the Duke. This city had been given to Francesco Sforza as a dowry with his wife Bianca. The Duke, however, declared that it had only been intrusted to him for money which had not been paid and should therefore revert to his possession. Whilst Colleoni was engaged in this operation he was suddenly seized and thrown into prison at Monza, where he remained for more than a year, till the death of the Duke on August 13th, 1447. This extraordinary step gave rise to many rumours. Some believed that in the previous year, when Colleoni was opposed to the Venetians, he had shown a disposition to enter into negotiations with them. Others thought that his imprisonment was due to the jealousy of Francesco Piccinino. Another report was that Colleoni was taking steps to become the head of the Guelf party, another that the captured cities paid more honour to Colleoni than they did to Filippo, while some attributed it to the ancient jealousy of the Colleoni family by the treasonable capture of Trezzo by Puhò. We need not, at this date, look

BARTOLOMEVS COLEON. ANDEGAVEN. ET BVRGVND BELLI DVX MAX.
PROPRIA GENTIS ET
MILITIAE INSIGNIA.

for any other reason than the wilfulness and treachery of the Duke himself. Colleoni was ordered into the territory of Piacenza. As he was crossing the Po he was seized by Nicolo Guerriero and taken into the castle of Piacenza. In the meantime everything which Colleoni possessed at Adorno had been removed to Pavia, but was honestly returned to him when he was set at liberty. Spino enables us to quote an interesting letter of the Duke's to Colleoni's tenants at Romano.

"To our beloved commune and men of Romano the "Duke of Milan, Count of Pavia and Anghiari, Lord of "Genoa.

"Our beloved, that you may not be astonished, and be "distressed at anything which has been done against the "person of the honourable Bartolomeo Colleoni, we advise "you that what has been done, has not been done because we "have any intention of doing him harm, nor of inflicting any "injury on his person. Any one who behaves ill to him, will "behave ill to us. But it has been done that we may be "more clear from any trouble. We advise you and comfort "you that you may be of good will and cheerful, because "in a short time he will be in favour, and that in a way to "be greater than ever, and you shall be consoled and well "content. We comfort you therefore and charge you to "have good care of the land, and to keep it and guard it in "the name of the said Colleoni. And if you have need of "any assistance in defence for it, ask for it, because we will "do for the defence of that land, what we have previously "done before the new line of conduct taken by us towards the "said Bartolomeo, and even better still, and as we act towards

" our lands which are most in favour with us. Given at " Milan, Sept. 26, 1446."

Whilst Colleoni was in prison the fortunes of the Duke went on from bad to worse. The Venetians occupied in turn Ghiara d'Adda, Crema, and Lodi. They passed the Adda at Casciano, and devastated the territory of Pavia, threatening even Milan itself. They then conquered the fortress of Brivio in the Brianza, together with Cassano and Lecco. In this distress Filippo did everything to gain Sforza over to his side. Sforza asked the counsel of Cosimo de' Medici as to what course he should pursue. Florence was beginning to be jealous of the success of the Venetians, so that Cosimo advised Sforza to think of his own interests, and if he had no money to give Pisa to his soldiers. Just at this moment Filippo Maria Visconti died, on August 13th, 1447, in his palace at the Porta Zobbia. He left no male heir. Immediately after his death there were cries of "Long live liberty!" The people of Milan established the Ambrosian Republic. Other cities followed the example. Parma proclaimed a republic; Lodi and Piacenza asserted their independence, and joined themselves to Venice. Pavia, where Madonna Tisbe and her daughter were living, surrendered to Sforza. The news of these events was not long in reaching Monza. Colleoni, learning or suspecting what had happened, determined to escape. He pretended to be seriously ill, and asked for bands of linen to wrap round his body. He fastened one end of these to a bench and let himself down into the ditch. The escape was discovered. The tocsin rang; all the neighbourhood was in arms. In

the confusion Colleoni crawled unperceived from the ditch, and joined those who were calling out his name. In the crowd he met an old soldier of his, Giorgetto Poma of Bergamo, who furnished him with a horse, upon which he fled to Landriano, where he was received with enthusiasm by his own troops. He then betook himself to Pavia, where he rejoined his wife. Sforza refused to give up Pavia to Milan, but nevertheless the city took him into her service in order to continue the war against Venice. On his side fought Colleoni, Francesco and Jacopo Piccinino, and also Carlo Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua, who had deserted the Republic. The first step of Sforza in his new command was to assault Piacenza and take it by storm. It was then given up to plunder and every kind of horror for fifty days.

Charles Duke of Orleans, son of Valentino Visconti, and titular lord of Asti, managed to rescue that city after the death of Filippo. The king of France sent him an army of about three thousand cavalry and infantry, under the command of Rinaldo de Dudresnay. With this assistance he attacked the territory of Alessandria, captured a number of castles, giving no quarter to the enemy. In the beginning of October Colleoni was sent against him with a thousand horse, and Astore da Faenza with five hundred. Colleoni engaged with them in the territory of Bosco, entirely defeated them, and took Dudresnay prisoner, whom he confined in his castle of Romano. After this exploit he attacked the territory of Tortona, and reduced it to submission. He was next sent to attack Lecco, which was in the hands of the Venetians. The bridge across the Adda had two strong towers at each end and

one in the centre, all strongly garrisoned. Colleoni had taken two of these towers, and was preparing to attack the third, when the place was relieved by Micheletto Attendolo, who had marched to its assistance through the valley of San Martino.

For some reasons which are imperfectly known to us, Colleoni now determined to desert Sforza and to return to the allegiance of Venice. This happened when the Milanese armies were besieging Lodi, on June 15th, 1448. He took with him a force of about fifteen hundred men. The Venetian army was now encamped in the plain of Bergamo, under the command of Michele Attendolo. Colleoni received a salary of ten thousand ducats, and was confirmed in the possession of Romano, Covo, and Antegnate. Many skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of Caravaggio, which the Venetians were especially anxious to preserve. The decisive battle was fought on September 15th. The Venetians began the attack when Sforza was either at mass or at breakfast, suspecting nothing. The soldiers immediately around him were routed, but fortune soon changed. He sent two thousand cavalry through a wood to attack the Venetians in the rear. Their defeat was immediate and complete; of twelve thousand Venetian cavalry only fifteen hundred escaped. The terror of the calamity deprived Brescia and Bergamo of all power of resistance. Sforza entered Caravaggio, and crossing the Oglio found himself master of both these provinces. The battle of Caravaggio claimed many victims. None was more lamented by Colleoni than Antoniazzo, who had grown up with him from a little boy, and who now had command of a hundred lances. He sent his body to be buried with all honour in the city of Romano. After

the battle of Caravaggio the government of Milan ordered Sforza to divide his forces, and to attack Bergamo and Lodi at the same time. He prepared to turn his arms against Brescia, hoping that it might remain to him as the prize of victory. Hoping also to come to terms with the Venetians, he set at liberty all the prisoners which had been taken at the battle of Caravaggio. In fact, on October 18th, 1448, thirty-three days after the battle, he made a treaty with the Republic of St. Mark on the condition that he should evacuate all the territories which he had conquered in the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia; that he should give up the rights of the Visconti and the Milanese over the territory of Crema and the Ghiara d'Adda, and should cede them to the Venetians. The Venetians on their side engaged to assist Sforza in conquering the dominions of the Visconti. They promised him four thousand horse and two thousand infantry, and to pay thirteen thousand florins a month until Milan was reduced. When he was master of Milan, Venice and that duchy were to be on terms of alliance. Colleoni commanded the cavalry which the Venetians sent to the assistance of Sforza. It was first employed in recovering the castles in the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia, among which were Martinengo and Romano. Colleoni was then sent to reduce Parma on the other side of the Apennines. The city was torn asunder by discordant factions, and after having in vain waited for assistance from Venice, submitted to Colleoni. That general then returned to Lombardy to assist Sforza in reducing the Milanese.

At this time Mary of Savoy, the widow of Filippo Maria

Visconti, who resided at Milan, where she was respected by the magistrates and the people, negotiated an alliance between her brother Louis Duke of Savoy and the republic of Milan. The King of France, Charles VII., gave to the duke the services of Jean des Compeys, lord of Torrens. He had an army of six thousand horsemen, two-thirds of them Savoyards, so noted for their cruelty that the Italians called them barbarians. They invaded the territory of Novara, and Colleoni was sent against them. Colleoni was not allowed to cross the river Sesia, which formed the frontier between Milan and Piedmont. After a number of skirmishes, the first serious engagement took place on April 1st, 1449, in which Compeys and four hundred soldiers were taken prisoners. Three weeks later, on April 23rd, a still more serious battle was fought on the flat ground between Borgomanero and Carpignano. The fight was hotly contested. The Italians had their first experience of the archers of Picardy, who dismounted from horseback, tied their animals to trees, fixed pointed stakes in the ground so as to form a stockade, and fought behind its protection. At length the French, worn out by fatigue and by the weight of their arms, took refuge in flight; they were pursued for two miles and cut to pieces. A thousand prisoners were taken, amongst whom were Jacopo Celendo, Jacopo Aborte, and Gaspare Varesino. Whilst Colleoni was engaged in these exploits, Sforza was occupied in the siege of Vigevano, which submitted to him after a long resistance. The castle of that town, although built in the previous century, still bears the inscription "Ludovico Sforza Visconti," as he enlarged it and surrounded it with new galleries. He now

recalled Colleoni from Novara, who returned to him with triumphal pomp, and was received with every mark of honour and distinction. Sforza pronounced his praises in a public assembly, and Colleoni was able to obtain for the people of Vigevano more favourable terms than had been accorded to Piacenza and other similar conquests. The fame of these victories of Colleoni over the French passed over the Alps and reached the ears of Charles the Bold and Louis XI., king of France.

After the submission of Vigevano Sforza proceeded, as he said, to "cut the green corn in all the territory of the Milanese." That city charged Enrico Panigarda to plead their cause with Venice. The Venetians began to perceive the error they had committed, and opened negotiations with Milan without Sforza's knowledge. Their operations were hastened by Sforza's treachery, who contrived that the towns of Crema and Lodi should be given up to him on September 11th. The Council of Ten now informed him that an armistice had been signed between Venice and the Ambrosian Republic and Colleoni was summarily recalled.

The peace between the two republics was signed at Brescia on September 27th, 1449, and communicated to Sforza three days later. By its conditions he was left with considerable power. He was to restore Lodi and surrender his claim on Milan and Como, but he was recognized as lord of Novara, Tortona, Alessandria, Pavia, Piacenza, Parma, and Cremona. He was, however, dissatisfied with these terms, and only concluded a delusive truce of twenty days whilst he allowed the negotiations for peace to drag on. At

the expiration of the armistice he refused to ratify the treaty, upon which the Venetians determined to give active assistance to Milan. The commander-in-chief of their armies was Sigismundo Malatesta, and the most distinguished of his lieutenants was Bartolomeo Colleoni. They threw two bridges across the Adda, one of wood at Brivio, high up in the mountains, and one of boats at Trezzo, lower down the stream. They then marched towards Milan, but they found the plain so completely occupied by the troops of Sforza that they could make no progress. Colleoni, who seems to have possessed a kindred genius to Garibaldi in mountain warfare, determined to reach Milan by another route. He ascended the Val San Martino, crossed over a pass into the Val Sassina, then in possession of the Venetians, which runs from Lecco parallel to the lake of Como, and descended it to Bellano, which he took from Sforza, as well as Asso in the Brianza. Spino tells us that Colleoni now succeeded in effecting a junction with Jacopo Piccinino, and in relieving Milan, but the best authorities deny this, and say that all attempts to assist the beleaguered city were in vain. The town was experiencing all the horrors of famine. The rich were compelled to feed on horses, mules and dogs, while the poor were sustained by the roots and herbs which grew upon the ramparts. Thousands lay dead in the streets; thousands more took refuge in the country but were driven back by Sforza into the town. The government of Milan in despair met in the church of Santa Maria della Scala, and prepared to surrender their city into the hands of the Venetians. Whilst they were deliberating, the starving populace rose

IVSTITIA·AVGSTA·ET BENIGNITAS·PVBLICA
OPVS·M·
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NI
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PARTHOL·CAPVT·LE

in tumult on February 25th. The palace was attacked, one wing of which was occupied by the government, and the other by Maria Visconti, the widow of the last duke. Leonardo Venieri, the Venetian ambassador, while attempting to defend the palace, was cut down by the insurgents. This ended in offers of the sovereignty of Milan to Francesco Sforza, who made his triumphal entry into the town on March 25th, 1450. The Ambrosian Republic had lasted two years, seven months, and thirteen days.

Colleoni was now recalled, and was sent to Isola della Scala in the territory of Verona, on the borders of Mantua. He occupied himself in erecting a strong fortress on the Mantuan marshes. The command of the Venetian army was now divided between Sigismundo Malatesta, Gentile della Lionessa, the brother of Gattamelata, and Jacopo Piccinino. Colleoni was offended at being passed over, and began to think of deserting the service of the Venetians. They made various efforts to retain him. They sent envoys to him, on April 3rd, 1452, begging him to remain. They repeated the attempt ten days later, and asked the Pope and the King of Aragon to act as mediators. We are told by Spino that the government of Venice ordered his arrest while he was encamped at Montechiaro, and that he was in danger of suffering the fate of Carmagnola. Hearing the tramp of armed men, he leaped upon a horse, and rode at full gallop towards Mantua with only three followers. He was pursued by light cavalry soldiers, and his horse became weary. So he exchanged it for a mule belonging to a peasant, which he rode without a saddle, and arrived in safety at Mantua, where

he was received by the Duke Ludovico Gonzaga with distinguished honours. Colleoni's troops, amounting to more than fifteen hundred *cavalli*, were captured in their quarters. His wife and daughters were made prisoners, but a sum was assigned for their support. Sanuto tells us that the money which came into the hands of the Venetians belonging to Colleoni amounted to between eighty and a hundred thousand golden florins. Out of this a sum of two thousand ducats was paid to Gherardo di Martinengo who had married Colleoni's daughter Orsina. His fief of Romano was made over by the Republic to Fermo Maffei. It may easily be supposed that Ludovico Sforza did not neglect an opportunity of securing so important an ally as Colleoni. He gave him a command of two thousand horse, and five hundred infantry. He assigned to him a larger stipend than he had asked for, and presented him with a rich standard embroidered with the arms of Sforza, a silver eagle on a shield of gold. The treaty between them provided that in the war against Venice if Bergamo and Brescia should be conquered Colleoni was to have on appropriate estate in one of these territories, and that the first prisoners made by the Milanese should be given in exchange for Madonna Tisbe and her daughters.

The war was renewed on May 16th, 1452. Cosimo dei Medici and the French took the side of Sforza; Alfonso of Naples and the Duke of Montferrat the side of the Venetians. Sforza assembled his troops to the north of Cremona, and crossing the Oglio at Pontevico invaded the territory of Brescia. The strong castle of Pontevico held out for two days, and the skill of Colleoni was conspicuous in its capture.

The Venetians formed their army in two divisions, crossed the Adda at Rivalta with one, and the Oglio at Pontoglio with the other. They penetrated as far as the suburbs of Milan, which they found well defended; they then retired into the district of Ghiara d'Adda, took the castle of Soncino, and secured the submission of all fortresses between Pontevico and Cremona, which they prepared to attack. Sforza did nothing to defend his favourite city, but remained in the territory of Brescia, the two armies being encamped opposite each other on either side of the Oglio. Porcelli, a contemporary Neapolitan poet, has left us an account of this campaign, which has been published by Muratori. He visited both armies, and flattered the generals on either side with indiscriminate adulation. Sforza had eighteen thousand horse, and three thousand infantry; the Venetians fifteen thousand horse, and six thousand foot soldiers. The people of Brescia appear to have kept up their spirits. On the day of the Assumption, August 15th, a comic tournament was held of horses and donkeys, while the women of loose character held a public wrestling match. The stress of the war was naturally turned against Colleoni's personal possessions. A tract of country close to his castle of Covo, which he had converted from a barren plain into flourishing corn-fields, was entirely laid waste. Out of ten of Colleoni's labourers who had gone out to cut straw, seven were thrown into the canal, and one had his eye cut out and his hand cut off, and was sent in that condition to report the news of what had occurred. For this Colleoni exacted a terrible vengeance. He made an attack upon Brescia, taking more than four hundred prisoners, and

two thousand head of cattle. The Venetians were forced to raise the siege of Cremona, and to retire upon Brescia.

The Venetian army was encamped near Porzano, in a place so surrounded by marshes, that it was impossible to escape except by a very narrow passage. Sforza was posted about four miles off in a favourable position. He was anxious to bring about a decisive engagement. The Venetian commanders, Gentile of Lionessa, and Jacopo Piccinino, declined the challenge. Upon this Colleoni determined to lead an assault, which was entirely successful. The narrow pass which formed the only exit was bombarded by two large cannon, which took the Venetian columns in flank. Colleoni took the principal share in these operations. The war now passed into the territory of Lodi; the Venetians crossed the Adda by a bridge of boats at the monastery of Cereto. Sforza did his utmost to destroy it by throwing logs of wood into the upper river, and letting them be carried down by the rushing current; the Venetians opened the bridge in the centre and let the logs pass through. Several other assaults were made, both on the bridge and the outworks which defended it, but without success, until Sforza was obliged to invoke the aid of Colleoni. He succeeded in carrying it and destroying the outworks by a manifestation of personal bravery, which recalls the prowess of the first Napoleon three centuries and a half later. This happened at the close of December, 1452. In the meantime William of Montferrat, in the pay of King Alfonzo of Naples, who was in alliance with the Venetians, had made a successful attack on the territory of Alessandria, and had reduced many of the castles to sub-

jection. He then moved on towards Tortona and Pavia. Sforza sent Colleoni to oppose his progress; he was joined by Rainald de Dudresnay, whom he had previously taken prisoner at the battle of Bosco. He was that time acting as governor of the city of Asti for the King of France. Sforza now received a new ally in the person of René of Anjou, the titular King of Naples, who had received a large subsidy from the Florentines to take part in the war. He arrived at Alessandria with thirty-five squadrons of picked cavalry, and two thousand foot soldiers. As René was closely connected with the house of Montferrat, he attempted to make peace between the contending hosts. Colleoni suspecting that his object was only to gain time, made a sudden attack on the castle of Borgo San Martino, and succeeded in capturing it. This led to a peace between the Marquis of Montferrat and the Duke of Milan, which was finally concluded on September 15th, 1453.

In the absence of Colleoni things had been going better for the Venetians in the territory of Brescia. They succeeded in taking the fortress of Manerbio, but Gentile di Lionessa was killed in the assault, and was succeeded in the command of the army by Jacopo Piccinino. The new general, whom Spino calls a fierce and warlike youth, got possession of Pontevico, and obtained command of the passage over the Oglio. Colleoni joined Sforza with his combined forces at Ghede. A council of war was held, in which the opinion of Colleoni, first to secure the country between the Oglio and the Adda, prevailed over that of Gonzaga, who proposed to march into the Veronese. With the help of the reinforce-

ments Pontevico was soon recovered, the French troops exhibiting their accustomed cruelty and inhumanity. All the castles in that district except Martinengo and Soncino were recovered. The Venetians evacuated the country, retreating towards Brescia, and Colleoni hastened to recover his ancient fiefs by his personal influence. He soon succeeded in reducing Martinengo, Romano, Covo, and Trescorre, under the authority of the Duke. Rovato fell on November 7th, 1453, Orzi on the 22nd of the same month. Then Colleoni turned to the conquest of Palazzuolo and Iseo, and avoiding the lake of Iseo, which was dominated by a Venetian flotilla, he marched into the Val Camonica and took Breno, the capital of the valley, on February 24th, 1454. Sforza now confirmed Colleoni in the free signory of his old possessions, Martinengo and Romano, with the addition of the important fiefs of Urgnano and Cologno, on the other side of the Serio. The Val Camonica was only reduced after repeated efforts. Starting from Clusone Colleoni descended the Val Seriano, which was firm in its allegiance to Venice. At Nembro he defeated Ludovico Malvezzi, and captured the castles of Brivio and Baiedo in the Val Sassina. Bergamo itself remained faithful to Venice, and Colleoni had too much affection for his ancestral city to take it by storm.

Nothing is more remarkable in Colleoni's career than the skill with which he adapted himself to circumstances. Spino tells us that while engaged in the Val Seriana, in the depth of winter, he conceived the idea of sending some of his picked infantry up the side of the mountain, where they converted large stones into huge snowballs, which they rolled down

upon the enemy, horses and men enveloped in coats of mail, and threw them into irremediable confusion. He attacked them at the same time in front, in flank, and in rear. The horses, driven wild by the masses of snow thundering down from an unknown source, fell into the river and were drowned. Many of the enemy were killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

Notwithstanding this apparent devotion to the cause of Sforza, Colleoni was evidently preparing for another change of masters. He was quite ready to pass over to the Venetians if he could obtain favourable terms. Indeed, reading between the lines of the adulation of his biographers, we see that he kept his mind steadily fixed on the acquisition of the fiefs with which he had been originally invested, and which he probably preferred to hold under a republic, than under a master who would be a rival. Nor was it to his interest that Bergamo should pass into the power of Sforza. An event had just occurred which produced a profound effect throughout Europe. Constantinople was captured by Mahomet II. on May 29th, 1453. The last Emperor Constantine Palæologus had been massacred with forty thousand Christians. Great numbers of Italian merchants had been deprived of their property and made prisoners. When this news reached the camp of Sforza and Piccinino, they became ashamed of the internecine war that they were waging. The Pope, Nicolas V., called on the princes of Christendom to drop their private quarrels, and to turn their arms against the Turks. We cannot penetrate into the secret diplomacy of those days, and we do not know what influence this crisis had on the mind of Colleoni. We find proofs in the Venetian archives

that as early as October 12th, 1453, the Council of Ten had offered Colleoni twenty-five golden ducats. Also in January of the preceding year they had made arrangements for restoring him to his ancient fiefs, and for providing him with a fitting reception in the city of Bergamo. Spino informs us that Madonna Tisbe, who remained with her daughters a prisoner in Venice, did her best to influence the mind of her husband in a similar direction. The knowledge of this approaching defection and of that of Sigismundo Malatesta, made Sforza more anxious for peace. The treaty was concluded at Lodi on April 9th, 1454. The district of Ghiara d'Adda was made over to Sforza, but he agreed to restore to Venice all his conquests in the territories of Bergamo and Brescia. In the meantime Madonna Tisbe and her daughters came to Romano, where they were joined by Colleoni.

The treasury of the Venetian Republic was in a very exhausted condition, and was unable to fulfil the promises which had been made to the illustrious general. They wrote to Colleoni on November 7th, 1454, guaranteeing the liquidation of their debts. Colleoni replied on the same day from Brescia, in a letter written in his own hand, the greater part of which is printed by Bonomi. He explains that he is much out of pocket, and beseeches for regular payment. The result of these negotiations was that on March 10th, 1455, he was created Captain-General of the Republic; and on the St. John's day following was solemnly presented with the bâton of command in the old square of Brescia, the same bâton which had been given in Brescia to Carmagnola in 1431, and to Gentile di Lionessa in 1452. He was assigned an annual

stipend of a hundred thousand *zecchini*. During the years which immediately followed, Venice was occupied by the tragedy of the aged Foscari, whose piteous end has been immortalized by the sympathetic pen of Byron. On October 23rd, 1457, the Doge, weighed down with the pressure of eighty-seven years, descended the Giant's Staircase, leaning on his brother's arm, the same staircase on which he had been installed thirty-four years before. He had not lost the love or respect of the common people, but the Council of Ten forbade any discussion of the revolution under the penalty of being haled before the Inquisitors of State. Pasquale Malipiero, procurator of St. Mark was chosen as his successor. When Foscari heard the bell ringing for the election of the new doge, a vein burst in his heart, and he fell dead. This interval of rest was spent by Colleoni in the consolidation and improvement of his possessions. Besides the fiefs previously mentioned he had received that of Calcinata which lies between Malpaga and the Oglio; Palosco, situated further to the east, at the junction of the Cherio with the Oglio; Mornico, in the same neighbourhood, and Solza, on the Adda, where he was born.

Shortly after the accession of Malipiero to the ducal throne, Colleoni was summoned to Venice to receive his staff of office from the hands of the Doge himself. He was accompanied by a large number of followers, amounting to two hundred *cavalli* with attendants. A thousand barques met him at Malghera. His progress across the lagoon was followed by a throng of boats and gondolas of every kind, and by three huge Bucentaurs towering above the rest. In the first was

the Doge and the signory, in the second the senators and other magistrates, in the third the ambassadors accredited to the Republic. Colleoni was received on board the Doge's Bucentaur, and seated by his side. The Grand Canal was crowded with spectators. Disembarking at the *piazzetta* of St. Mark, the Doge and his guest entered the cathedral, and proceeded to the high altar, where all the treasures of the chapter were exposed. Mass was sung and a sermon preached, after which the Doge, taking the staff of office from the altar presented it to Colleoni with these words, "By the authority and desire of the most excellent city of "Venice, of ourselves, the Prince, and of the Senate, thou "shalt be Commander and Captain-General of all our people "and arms on land. Take this military *bâton*, in sign of thy "power, with good auspices and fortune from our hands; "let the majesty, the fidelity, and the deliberations of this "command be thy care and enterprise, to maintain and defend "with dignity and decorum; thou shalt come to no definite "battle with the enemy except by our orders, neither pro- "voking nor even when provoked; we give thee free juris- "diction and authority over each of the soldiers, unless it be a "question of high treason." After these words Colleoni received the *bâton* with reverence and retired to the palace prepared for him, accompanied by the signory and a great part of the Senate. Ten days were spent in festivity. Two solemn tournaments were held, one of which was only open to commanders of at least fifty lances. The prize was a piece of gold brocade worth five hundred ducats. The other was open to everyone, and the prize was a piece of scarlet cloth.

The first prize was won by Antonello dalle Corna, and the second by one of Colleoni's men-at-arms. Colleoni's name was inscribed among the Venetian nobility in the Golden Book. It happened that the first time he attended the Gran Consiglio a meeting was being held and Colleoni drew the golden ball. In virtue of this he proposed Niccolò Malipiero as Podestà of Padua, which was accepted with great applause. When he left the city he was accompanied by two senators. All this happened in the month of June, 1458, and which of us who knows Venice does not wish that he had been there to see the sight? Colleoni held the post of Captain-General till his death in 1475. The rest of his life was passed in comparative peace, but he neglected no opportunity of exertion that presented itself. He did not apparently engage in any act of war until 1467, when he gave his assistance to the Florentine exiles, as will be shown later on. We have, however, some notices about him in the archives of Bergamo. On August 23rd, 1460, he received permission to construct a bridge over the Brembo, and to exact a toll of one *soldo* for passengers on foot, and two for those on horseback. Calcinata, Mornico and Ghisalba were assigned to him in May of the same year, in payment of a debt due to him by the Republic. Ghisalba was rather an important place on the right bank of the Serio, close to the Basella, where Colleoni's daughter Medea was buried. In 1462 the Republic made a new agreement with him to pay him sixty thousand florins in time of peace, and a hundred thousand in time of war; confirming him in possession of the fiefs of Romano, Cologno, and Urgnano. He had at this time in his pay four thousand horse and ten thousand

foot soldiers. He appears from his letters to have spent the greater part of his time at Malpaga. On June 9th, 1465, the Venetian senate gave him the power of disposing at his death of all the lands, castles, and towns which he held as fiefs. They also added the village of Solza to his possessions, as we have said above.

We now come to the period of the war of 1467. Italy was at this time full of Florentine exiles driven out at various times by the predominant family of the Medici. The greatness of that house was founded upon the ruin of the Soderini, the Acciaiuoli, and the Pitti, who preceded them. The exiles who had been driven out by Cosimo in 1434 joined with those who had been expelled by his son Piero in 1466. Gian Franceso, son of Palla Strozzi, might be considered as head of the first, Angelo Acciaiuoli as leader of the second. Finding it impossible to make terms with the Medici, they betook themselves to Venice, where they held frequent conferences with the Pregadi and with Bartolomeo Colleoni. The Medici, hearing of this, denounced the exiles as rebels and set a price on their heads. At the same time they prepared for war, and strengthened their alliance with the Duke of Milan and the King of Naples. The Venetians did not openly espouse the cause of the exiles, but they gave permission to Colleoni to assist them. Money was not wanting. The exiles were rich, and the Republic was ready to advance funds. Besides Colleoni they obtained the help of Alessandro Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and Constanzo, his son; of Ercole d'Este, brother of Duke Borso; of Pino degli Ordelaffi, lord of Forlì; of Marco and Lionello de' Pii,

lords of Carpi, of Galeotto Pico, lord of Mirandola, making in all an army of fifteen thousand men. Astorre dei Manfredi, lord of Faenza, had promised to assist the Medici, but after having received their money he was seduced by the large offers of the Venetians. The scene of war was in the Romagna. Colleoni took the castles of Mordano, Bagniara, Bubano and Dovadola. On October 2nd, 1467, he was encamped at Villa Franca in the neighbourhood of Forlì, when ambassadors arrived from the Emperor Frederick III. asking for a safe conduct to enable him to proceed to Rome and to return. This document, drawn up with great modesty, is still preserved in the archives of Bergamo, and a translation of it is printed at the end of Spino's Life. A battle between the two armies took place at Molinella in the territory of Bologna on July 25th, 1467, the feast of St. James. The battle lasted sixteen hours during the whole of a long summer's day. It was indecisive in its results. More than three thousand were killed and wounded. Among the latter was Ercole of Este, who remained lame all his life. Conspicuous in the army of Colleoni were his three sons-in-law, all Martinenghi, Gherando, Gasparre, and Jacopo. The war had at present effected little results except to lay waste the territories of Bologna, Ravenna and Faenza. Both sides began to wish for peace. Gasparre Vimercate, on behalf of the Duke of Milan, and Gherardo Martinengo, on behalf of Colleoni, began to treat at the court of Duke Borso of Ferrara. The affair, however, was only finally concluded by Pope Paul II., who proclaimed a general pacification on the day of the Purification of the Virgin, February 2nd, 1468.

One of the conditions was that Colleoni was to become the general of a holy league against the Turks, for which a yearly contribution of a hundred thousand golden ducats was to be made by the various Italian states. Ferdinand, King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines rejected these conditions, and expressed their opinion that the Pope should rather have punished the adventurer who destroyed their peace than have rewarded him. The Pope was therefore obliged to give up this article, and the peace was definitely concluded on April 25th. The letter of Paul II., given under the "seal of the fisherman," is printed in the appendix to Spino. It is addressed to "our beloved son, "the strenuous man, Bartolomeo de' Coglioni, Captain "General of us and of all Italy against the Turks." Although the appointment came to nothing Colleoni always regarded the having received it as one of the palmary honours of his life.

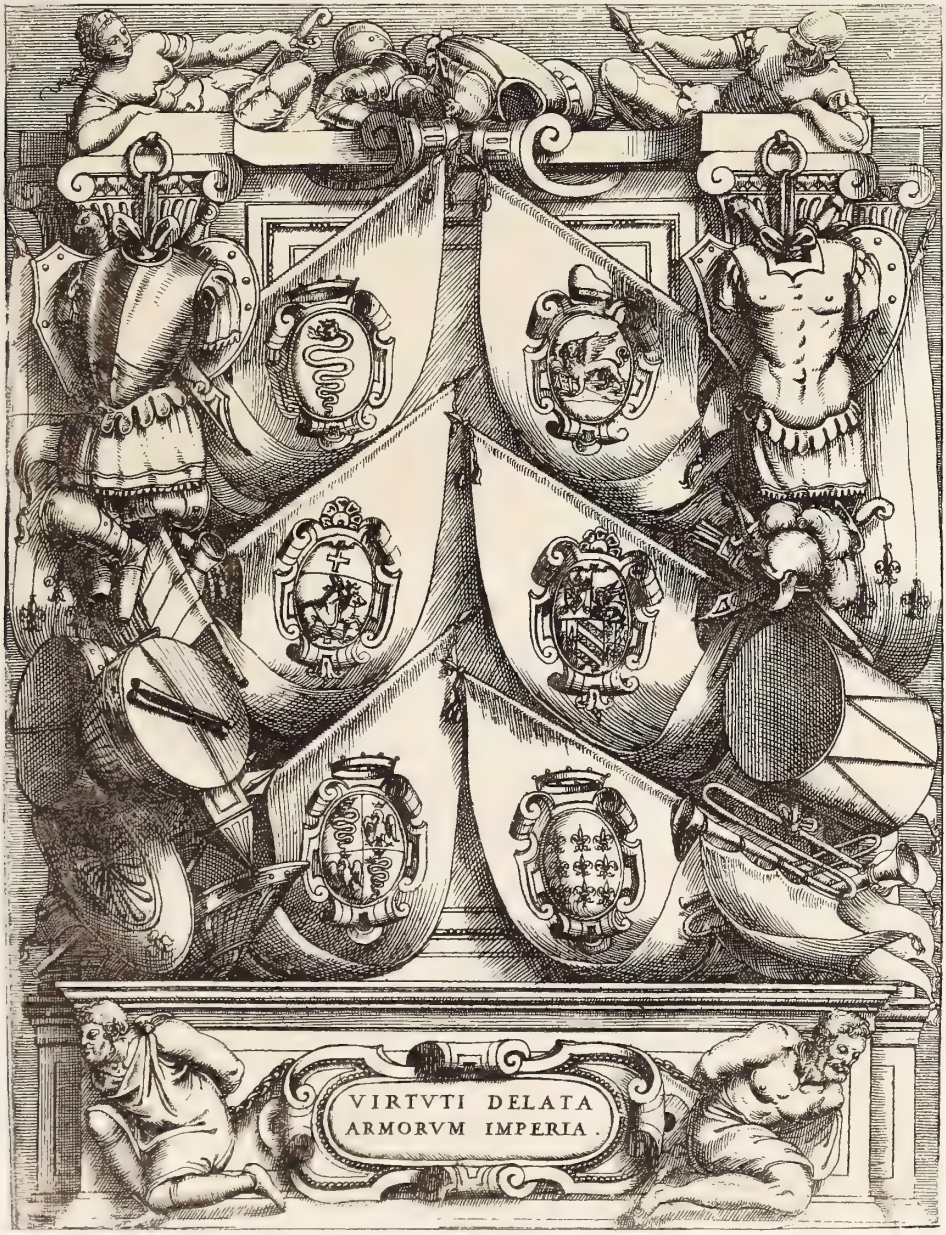
That Ferdinand of Naples was an enemy to Colleoni was sufficient reason why his rival, René of Anjou, should be his friend. We find, therefore, that he sends letters patent to the great general dated from the castle of Anjou, May 14th, 1467, by which he authorizes him and his legitimate offspring to bear the arms of Anjou, which were the golden lilies of ancient France, *semées* on an azure field, surrounded by a border gules. In this instrument René styles himself by the grace of God, King of Aragon, of Jerusalem, of Sicily, on either side of the straits of Valencia, of the Majorcas, of Sardinia, and of Corsica, Duke of Anjou and Bar, Count of Provence, of Avignon (Folcalquiero), and of Piedmont. Colleoni also

received an invitation from the citizens of Siena to assist them against the attacks of Jacopo Piccinino. But while the Venetians were deliberating as to whether they should give him leave the Vienese chose another commander.

A few years afterwards, Louis XI., King of France, engaged in war with the nobles of his kingdom, made Colleoni an offer through Louis Valpergo, his ambassador, to make him captain of all his armies, offering him a salary of fifty thousand crowns. At a later period, by means of Alan, cardinal of Avignon, he offered him the title of Lieutenant and Governor-General with an increased salary of two hundred thousand crowns if he would assist him with a body of a thousand horse. He did not accept the offer out of respect to the Venetians, for Louis XI. had always been their enemy, and a partizan of Sforza. Lastly, Charles the Bold of Burgundy wrote to him from Bruges on January 5th, 1473, giving him the permission which had never been given before to bear the title of Burgundy, and to quarter the arms of Burgundy, which were the lilies of France surrounded by a border gules and argent, impaled with the ancient shield of Burgundy of transverse stripes, alternately blue and white. On January 17th this was followed by an agreement, printed in Spino's Life, by which Colleoni is created his captain and lieutenant-general for three years, with a yearly stipend of a hundred and fifty thousand gold ducats, paid monthly. If Venice should be engaged in war Colleoni is to be allowed to proceed to the assistance of the Republic, otherwise he is to serve the Duke with at least a thousand men-at-arms, and fifteen hundred foot soldiers, armed in accordance with the good custom of Italy. He is

to exhibit them once a year to the Duke in battle array. He is to have absolute control over all his troops, saving only the dignity and authority of the Duke. This agreement did not lead to any practical result; indeed, Colleoni was now an old man of seventy-two, and died three years later. The fact that these exceptional honours were offered to Colleoni shows that he was more tempted by them than by money. He always bore the titles "of Anjou and Burgundy."

During his residence at Malpaga, besides the works of art and beneficence, of which we shall speak later on, he was accustomed to surround himself with men of letters and ability, amongst whom was Antonio Cornazzano, who wrote his life. He was not given to the study of books, but he was fond of intelligent conversation. He is said to have taken great pleasure in hearing the opinions of astrologers and philosophers, and discussing points of natural science, although he was of opinion that the secrets of nature could never be ascertained with certainty by man, but rested with the supreme Creator of the universe. He always held his own in these discussions, and by his clear-sighted judgment threw light on questions which had puzzled more learned brains. His life was religious and his works good, according to the standard of those times. He was simple in the habits of his life, temperate in food and in sleep. Cornazzano tells us that he often accompanied him on a six miles walk for the sake of exercise, and that he wearied out younger men. His court was crowded with pages, whom he brought up in strict principles of morality. He was especially partial to natives of Piacenza, for whom he felt a particular sympathy. He


VIRTVTI DELATA
ARMORVM IMPERIA.

always rose with the sun, a circumstance which stood him in good stead in his campaigns. After a simple dinner he would spend half an hour in conversation, recounting, with an excellent memory, the famous exploits of his youth, talking with the simplicity of his native dialect, and yet with a dignity befitting his age. Some of his repartees are reported. When Cecco Simoneta, secretary of Francesco Sforza, came to Romano to persuade Colleoni to return to the service of the Duke, he replied that he would rather be free. Upon which Simoneta said Sforza would observe: "You "are a brave man, but you can easily be conquered by a few "thousand ducats." "You may tell the Duke," answered Colleoni, "that to his shame and reproach he has allowed "himself to be conquered not by a few thousand, but by a "single Ducat (Duchy)." Once when a certain prince expressed wonder that a man of Colleoni's mature years should allow himself to be overcome by the love of women, he answered: "I am much more surprised that so young a man "should be so overcome by hatred of women, that he could "not even suffer his mother to live." Colleoni was a man of remarkable strength and vigour, which he retained till his death. When a young man in the service of Braccio he could outrun the swiftest of his infantry, clad in his coat of mail. His stature was lofty and erect, and his figure well formed, and well proportioned. His complexion was rather dark, but full of life. He had black eyes, bright, penetrating, and terrible. His countenance represented a noble manliness, combined with kindliness and wisdom. The one fault his biographer admits was a weakness for the fair sex, which he excuses by his desire

to leave male descendants. His wife, Tisbe Martinengo, bore him only one daughter, Caterina, whom he married to Gasparre Martinengo.

The great event of Colleoni's later years was the visit which Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, paid him in 1474, of which a full account will be given in the explanation of the pictures which accompany this book. He suffered a severe blow in the death of his youngest daughter, Medea, in 1470, to whom he erected an exquisite marble monument in the little church of the Basella, which is now transferred to the Colleoni chapel at Bergamo.

He died on Friday, November 3rd, 1475, in his castle of Malpaga, at the age of seventy-five. The night following his corpse was borne to the city, placed on a richly adorned catafalque before the altar of Santa Maria Maggiore, and exposed for three days to public view, surrounded by burning torches. His funeral took place on the 4th of January following. It is said that the soldiers of his band were kept together for fourteen years after his death by the authority of his name alone.

THE CONNECTION OF COLLEONI WITH ART.

The life of Colleoni which we have narrated is that of an honourable man—the last of the *condottieri*, but also the best, —one who did not seek to make himself a prince or duke, but who sought a comparatively modest patrimony as a reward for his labours, and studied to surround himself with the grateful participants of his beneficence and good fortune. The closer examination of his life will show that he is more intimately

connected with the art of his time than we should have imagined upon a casual observation. One of his principal acts of benevolence was the foundation of a *luogo pio*, a charitable institution in Bergamo, which still exists in a flourishing condition, and serves to endear his name to his townspeople. In 1465 he presented a large amount of property to found an institution for giving portions to marriageable girls, "with the "idea of securing public morality by promoting marriages, "which are the basis of the family, the family being the stable "foundation of society." This was confirmed and enlarged by a solemn donation of many mortgages and other property for the purposes of the *Pietà*, as it was called. The institution was to be managed by five persons. Every year the income was to be distributed in giving dowries to damsels who were desirous to marry, and to two who wished to enter convents. There was a strong prohibition against using the money in any other way. To the ladies of the House of Colleoni were to be assigned a dowry of a hundred and fifty imperial pounds; to those of the ancient and original families of the city, a hundred pounds; and to those of the territory of Bergamo, forty pounds, supposing that they could not provide sufficient dowry for themselves. If there were not a sufficient number of eligible girls in the territory of Bergamo, the privilege was to be extended to that of Brescia. The donation was confirmed by the Pope and by the Signory of Venice.

The will of Bartolomeo Colleoni, executed on October 27th, 1475, a week before his death, with a codicil dated a few days later, is a most remarkable document. In it he disposes of all his numerous possessions in the territories of Bergamo

and Brescia, and in almost every case he imposes as a condition a rent-charge of a certain amount, to be paid yearly to the *Pietà*. He leaves all his property in the city of Bergamo to the institution, and with this the house in which he used to live in the neighbourhood of Sant' Agata. This is to be the seat of the institution, and is to be entitled *Domus Pietatis*. It is never to be sold, or let, or mortgaged for any other use. Unfortunately, the *Pietà* has not observed this condition. Some time at the beginning of this century it sold the house, and purchased one of larger size in the lower part of the town. The original house is, however, still standing, and the visitor will have little difficulty in bringing it back in imagination to its pristine condition. It is approached from the street through a narrow passage covered with an arbour of vines. The door bears the inscription, *domus pietatis*, and over the door is the window of a small sitting-room. The ground floor consists of two large rooms, the outer being a reception room, and the inner a dining-room. They have been covered with coarse wall-papers, the frescoes have been removed and sold, but they have now been restored by the efforts of Signor Bonomi, and can to some extent be deciphered. In the outer room, which is lighted by two windows looking out into a garden, there is a noble fresco of Colleoni on horseback, a copy of which will be found in the present work. The dining-room is approached through double doors. The little passage between them has on one side a small kitchen for warming dishes, and on the other a wine cellar, both useful for the purposes of the apartment. The dining-room is about thirty-six feet by eighteen, and is vaulted.

The door stands at the south side. On the west side there is a handsome fire-place between two windows. The subject of the pictures is mainly religious. In the centre of the ceiling is God the Father in the act of blessing. In the spring of the arches are the heads of nine apostles in lunettes. In other places are the heads of various members of the Colleoni family—his daughters and his sons-in-law, the Counts Martinengo. The pictures on the walls are, so far as they can be made out, as follows: on the left of the door, as one enters, is the figure of a female with a dog, possibly Madonna Tisbe, Colleoni's wife; on the right is the Annunciation. Then follow along the east wall the cardinal virtues—Prudence with three heads, Fortitude with a sword and crown, Temperance with a wine-flask, and Justice with the roll of the law. The figures on the north wall should be Faith, Hope, and Charity, the three theological virtues. Charity is first represented with two children; then, in the centre, the Virgin in Glory, which may represent Faith; the third picture, which should represent Hope, cannot be made out. Other spaces on the walls are occupied by the various armorial bearings of the Colleoni family, of which it may be well to give here some account. The original shield of the Colleoni family is canting heraldry—party per fess gules and argent three coglioni (or cuori hearts, as they are called), arranged two and one, counterchanged. For this Bartolomeo substituted argent two bends gules issuing from two lion's heads or, sometimes with, sometimes without the coglioni. When Colleoni received from the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy the privilege of using their arms, he bore them in chief with his own,

the Anjou arms being azure semée of fleurs-de-lis or, and the Burgundy arms the same, with the addition of the old arms of Burgundy, or three bendlets azure. He apparently omitted the distinguishing borders which ought properly to form part of these arms. Besides this he bore in different ways the cognizance of the different powers whom he had served—the *biscia* of the Viscontis, the eagle of the Sforzas, the lion of St. Mark, and the keys of the Papacy, the mounted St. Ambrose of the Archbishopric of Milan. Further he invented a banner for his special use, of which the following account is given by Spino. He says that it was probably made expressly for the expedition of the Duke of Burgundy, and hung in Spino's time at the right hand of Colleoni's sepulchre in his chapel at Bergamo. "A man armed from head to foot nobly in the ancient manner, has on his helmet as a crest the figure of a lion rampant, with his legs raised in front of him. The armed man, with both his hands, which are clad in gauntlets, holds by the back hair, and forcibly draws towards him, a most beautiful lady's head. She, surrounded by rays, with wings full of eyes, rises breast high out of a cloud—if one may call a cloud what is a bundle of ribbons, indented like leaves, of different colours, waving round her heart. The standard above and below has two suns, one in each corner, which shine half covered by the same envelope. The warrior stands on a flowery meadow, surrounded by thirteen lion-heads, without tongues, turned towards him. All the rest of the standard is covered by rays and flakes of gold, which sparkle from the shining head of the lady. Some of the rays pierce that cloudy envelope." Spino declines to explain the device, but

says that the general idea was that it represented Colleoni as aiming at the duchy of Milan.

Colleoni also restored the baths of Trescorre. They had been known since the eighth century, but had fallen into disrepair, and the place had been turned into a monastery of Benedictine nuns. Colleoni had the waters carefully examined by the best doctors, recalled them into use, transferred the nuns to San Stefano, repaired the springs, restored the baths, and made them fit for the reception of the sick. In 1469 the Signory of Venice at his request excused the place from taxes on the necessaries of life. Another important part of the beneficent activity of Colleoni was in his work of irrigation, which was the chief source of the prosperity of the Lombard plain. Numerous rivers descend from the Alps to the Po, but they are violent and intermittent, sometimes rushing with a strong current, sometimes almost dry. They would be of little use to agriculture if they were not cut up into watercourses, which run in all directions, and are the pleasantest accompaniment to the traveller's carriage wheels as he drives along the flat roads. The work was begun in earnest after the defeat of the Barbarossa by the Lombard League in 1176. The Naviglio Grande, taken from the Ticino, dates from 1179. The Canale della Muzza, which gives fertility to the plains of Lodi, was made in 1222, and was for some time considered the finest canal in the world. The Roggia Seriola, made by the city of Bergamo, from the Serio, was completed before 1233. After this many similar enterprises succeeded, which need not be recounted in this place. When Colleoni came into possession of Malpaga and the neighbouring

districts, he found that the old canal derived from the Serio was insufficient; he therefore improved it and gave it the name of Colleonesca. He then, in 1473, made a new canal of large dimensions, furnished with mills, saw-mills and wine-presses, which, in memory of his newly-won honours, he called Borgogna. Before this he had enlarged the Roggia Montana on the right bank of the Serio, which was in its turn called the Colleonesca. He also had designs for drawing a canal from the Brembo, and another from the Cherio, but he was not able to put his plans into execution.

We now pass to the more direct connection of Colleoni with the art of his time. On the right bank of the Serio just opposite to Malpaga, the battlements of which are visible from the tower of the church, lies the little sanctuary of the Basella, consisting now of a very pretty church and a parsonage house and farm, with a neglected but picturesque garden. The history of the place is interesting. On the night of April 7th, 1356, a heavy hoar frost covered the plains of Bergamo, doing a great deal of harm to the crops. On the following morning Marina, daughter of Pietro Leone, of Borgo di Urgnano, an ill-educated girl of fifteen, went into one of her father's fields which was sown with flax. Seeing that it was entirely destroyed, she burst into tears and lamentations, and cried out, "What is this, oh, Virgin Mary?" After this she passed to another piece of land, not far off, to gather straw, and here there appeared to her a very beautiful lady in a brilliant dress, with a little child holding her hand. When she saw the lady she began to pray. The lady said, "Do not fear; why do you weep and lament?" and Marina

answered, "Do you not see how much harm and destruction "this frost has done, so that the poor will have to die of "hunger?" The Virgin comforted Marina, saying that the year would be more than usually abundant. Marina then asked her who she was, and she replied, "You will see me in "the same place within nine days, and then I will explain to "you who I am, with other matters which I now refrain "from telling you." On the ninth day following Marina returned alone to the same place, and the same lady appeared to her in the same dress. She said, "Thou hast done well. "You must promise to keep yourself a virgin." The girl promised. Then she said, "Know that in this place there is "a church dedicated to me which has long been buried under "ground. Tell the men of Urgnano to dig here and they will "find it." Marina said, "They will not believe me." Then the lady placed three stones in order, and said, "Under these "stones they will find the altar, and when the church is "rebuilt tell them to procure a priest who has never yet said "mass, and let him celebrate here his first mass, and every "fortnight let a mass be celebrated for the souls of the dead "who are here buried." A good deal more was said which we need not repeat. The altar and the foundations of the ancient church were found as the Virgin had described. A new church was built and greatly frequented. Fourteen miracles were performed there. The church was visited with great pomp by Barnabò and by Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Barnabò presented to the church a cross with some of the holy thorns. Galeazzo gave a number of valuable offerings and was cured of his gout. He probably built

the parsonage, the tower, and some portions of the present church.

Colleoni frequently passed by this sanctuary on his way to Cologno and Urgnano. He enlarged the building, and placed in this convent Dominican fathers from the monastery of San Stefano in Bergamo. After this commencement he continued his favours, and a year before his death procured the separation of the convent from the monastery of San Stefano. He lengthened the church, and placed a rose window in the façade, adorning the church with terra-cotta ornaments. Here also he buried his beloved daughter Medea, who died at a tender age. He confided the execution of her beautiful monument to the famous sculptor and architect Amidei, who was then engaged upon the lectern of Pavia. The tomb was sold by the proprietor in 1842, and removed to the Colleoni chapel at Bergamo, where it still remains. After Colleoni's death the Basella passed to the Martinenghi, who continued their protection to it.

The steam tramway which passes close to Malpaga first reaches Martinengo, and then Romano, both intimately associated with the name of Colleoni. Opposite the western gate of Martinengo, at a little distance in the fields, stands the Franciscan convent, which was only licensed by Pope Sixtus IV. and dedicated to the Incoronata on September 18th, 1475, a short time before Colleoni's death. It was formed out of a refuge for pilgrims which he had begun to build as early as 1470. In the cloister of the Church of the Incoronata, in a room on the ground floor, is a fresco representing Christ upon the Cross, with St. Francis on one side

and Colleoni on the other. The great Captain is kneeling with bare head, and holds his well-known red cap in his hand. It is supposed by some to be the best existing portrait of Colleoni, representing him as being advanced in years. A copy of it will be found in the present work. Below is an inscription commemorating the foundation of the monastery by Colleoni, as well as that of Santa Chiara in the town of Martinengo itself, in answer to the pious wishes of Madonna Tisbe. The inscription closes thus, "Obiit autem Nobilis et Ill. supradictus Bartolomæus, 1475, die 3 Novembris et ideo die illo Fratres et moniales annuatim pro anima ejus celebrant officium ne ingratitudinis vitium incurrant." There is also in the fields a country church founded by Colleoni, in order that the labourers might have the opportunity of attending sacred ministrations. In Romano, which may be regarded as the capital of this rural district, Colleoni restored the church, increased the stipend of the priest, and in return received the alternate presentation to the benefice, which remains with his heirs to the present day. He also provided for the maintenance of a chaplain in the church of San Giovanni at Malpaga.

The history of the castle of Malpaga, which contains the frescoes, copies of which are issued with this book by the Arundel Society, is imperfectly known. It came into the possession of the Venetian Republic in the year 1450, but we have no information either as to when it was built, or to whom it previously belonged. It was purchased by Colleoni in the year 1456 for a hundred ducats of gold. He received it in absolute property, free from all taxes and jurisdiction. It

was with Romano his favourite place of residence. It is situated a little distance from the high road, about seven miles from Bergamo, on the banks of the Serio. It was enlarged and remodelled by Colleoni, and still retains the form which he gave to it, except that the roof of the court-yard has been seriously curtailed, thus destroying the great fresco attributed to Giorgione, which represented Colleoni receiving the bâton of commander from the Pope. It is one of the most perfect and interesting specimens of the feudal castle of the latter half of the fifteenth century, built not so much for purposes of war as for those of residence and of the chase. The dining room, which contains the well-known frescoes, is on the ground floor, but the whole castle was apparently full of similar decorations, which are now covered by white-wash, while the walls and floors are encumbered with Indian corn, silkworms, and other agricultural lumber. This is particularly noticeable in the bedroom, in which Colleoni made his will, and in which he died. It is a pity that the Conte Roncalli, the present possessor, does not at least clean out the building from these unsightly and ruinous encumbrances. It is quite possible that treasures of mediæval art may be concealed in it. The walls are battlemented, and in that wide plain are conspicuous for a long distance. The little tower is surmounted by a bell which announced the coming guest, and which tolled for Colleoni's death.

We have already mentioned Colleoni's funeral. The order of the procession which accompanied it is still preserved. It opened with a long row of clergy, regular and secular, the Disciplines, the Servi, the Carmini, the Franciscans, the

Austin Friars, the Umiliati, the Celestines, the friars of San Spirito and San Leonardo, the Dominicans, the parish priests, the chapters of the cathedral and that of St. Alessandro, the chaplains of Santa Maria. These were followed by six trumpeters on horseback, with black pennons over their shoulders; a hundred horses with housings, the men covered with large mourning cloaks (*capironi*), their targets on their backs, their lances reversed over their shoulders trailing on the ground, a hundred men on foot with mourning cloaks behind the horses. Then came a man on horseback clad in mourning with the great standard of Colleoni over his shoulder trailing on the ground, then his shield, arms, and helmet. Next a horse with red housings and Colleoni's device, ridden by a man-at-arms in mourning with the banner of St. Mark. He was followed by Colleoni's own charger, led by a man in mourning, the horse covered with fine black cloth down to the ground, charged with the device of Colleoni in gold, and by a trophy of the Captain's arms arranged in the ancient manner, with a sword on one side and a staff on the other. The culminating point of the procession was the effigy of Colleoni himself, stretched upon a bier covered with black cloth down to the ground. Twelve men were ranged around it carrying torches with armorial bearings, of whom four were captains of squadrons, and the other eight were knights or doctors. The effigy was preceded and followed by two hundred torches. The procession was closed by the nearest relatives, with the Bishop, the Rector, and the Proveditori, and by the servants and retainers of the house, according to their several ranks.

The funeral sermon was preached by Guglielmo Paiello, "a most eloquent historian," and was printed in Latin at Vicenza on January 28th, 1476. He made touching allusions to the trailing standards, the sorrowful war-horse, the weeping family, and especially the faithful Don Abbondio, now deserted by his master. Don Abbondio of Como was Colleoni's intendant, and is described by Cornazzano as being the chief depositary of his secrets. The closing days of winter he says will not permit him to be long. He passed lightly over the events of Colleoni's early life, which seem to have been matters of general notoriety, with copious references to Scripture. He describes him in his youth as handsome, strong, and temperate. He attributes to him the chief glory of the capture of Brescia at the age of twenty-six. He compares him to Hannibal in the manner in which he crossed the Alps and launched his galleys on the lake of Garda. "He was by far the first of "warriors either on horse or foot, he was the first to enter "battle, the last to leave it. No general was more completely "trusted by his soldiers." He was the only leader found worthy to conduct the campaign against the Turks. He records his imprisonment at Monza, the invitations addressed to him by numerous kings and potentates, and the strong desire of Charles the Bold of Burgundy to adopt him as master in the art of war. He commemorates his services to art and to religion, in restoring or founding the castles of Malpaga and Romano, the churches of the Basella, of Martinengo, of St. Peter, of Romano, and the Colleoni Chapel at Padua. He then passes to the foundation of the Pietà, "*Jacet ante oculos*," he proceeds, "Bartholomeus a Coleo:

" jacet Patriæ Pater, Patriæ Splendor, Patriæ Salus, Italiæ " Pacis auctor et conservator: animus ille imperiosus qui vix " orbis ambitu capi poterat, brevissimo lectulo clausus est; silet " illa lingua, quæ toties armatos phalanges ad dimicandum " exhortata est, toties victis pepercit, toties pacem inter dis- " sidentes Principatus composuit, toties frementi prælio paucis " cum copiis majores hostiles turmas sapientia et magnani- " mitate superavit; jacet Bartolomeus ante oculos exanguis " et concivium aut militum querelas audire non potest." The oration then passes to long panegyrics of Bergamo replete with historic lore. After some further allusions to the events of Colleoni's life and his happy and peaceful death, he addresses him in person, and enumerates the mourners: Niccolò Coreggio, his son-in-law, Gerardo Martinengo, Gasparre, of the same family, and Bernardo Ladrone. Let them take example by the life and by the death of the great Captain, who feeling his end approaching confessed his sins and received the Sacrament, then signed his will, keeping an even mind in the chill and fever of exhausting ague, and at last called his friends around him, and leaning upon his elbow, made them a dying speech.

Colleoni, by the codicil of his will, left to the Venetian Republic a hundred thousand ducats of gold, for the purpose of conducting the war against the Turks; he also remitted all the arrears of pay which they owed him. He further gave them the ten thousand ducats of gold which were due to himself from the Marquis of Ferrara. In the fourth section of the codicil Colleoni most devoutly requests the most illustrious senate of Venice to deign to have made a statue of himself

on a bronze horse, and to place it in the square of St. Mark, in perpetual memory of the testator. The first care of the Venetian signory was to receive the legacies given to the Republic by nominating three *Provvisori* in Malpaga to ascertain and to send to Venice the money belonging to Colleoni. The Council of Ten determined that the hundred thousand ducats could not be used for any other purpose except the Turkish war, and should be sent to Venice in three batches at three days' interval. The money found in Colleoni's different palaces far surpassed the amount of the legacies, so that by November 25th, 1475, three weeks after his death, two hundred and sixteen thousand ducats had entered into the coffers of the State. These were placed in an iron chest, to be kept in a secret and secure place where the treasure of St. Mark was stored. Of these ducats a hundred and ninety thousand were to be reserved for the war against the Turks, or some other great necessity of State; the other twenty-six thousand were to be kept for the payment of legacies. This money was despatched in sealed sacks, consigned to the head of the Council of Ten, containing about ten thousand ducats each, in the coins of various mints—Venice, Hungary, Florence, Alfonso of Naples, and others.

Notwithstanding the generous manner in which Colleoni had treated the Republic, and its appropriation of ninety thousand ducats which did not belong to it, and which ought to have gone to the Pietà of Bergamo, the signory behaved badly to him in other ways. The lands of Romano, Martinengo, Cologno, Calcinata, Ghisalba, Mornico, and Palusco had been assigned to Colleoni, first as fiefs, afterwards as free

and absolute dominions, with power to dispose of them either in his lifetime, or by his last will. This latter power he had made use of. But on the pretence of the exigencies and the security of the State the Republic, by a decree of December, 1475, determined that these fortified territories should return to the dominion of the Pope. His heirs were left only with Cavernago and Malpaga, the canals of irrigation, and those lands which were the private property of Colleoni in the territory of Brescia. This was a manifest injustice, for these domains had been given to Colleoni in payment of money legally due to him, and they ought not to have been confiscated without proper compensation. Venice did, however, show a sense of gratitude by erecting a statue to the great commander, not, indeed, in the square of St. Mark, for no statue was allowed to be erected there, but in the square of San Giovanni e Paolo, close by the Guild-house of St. Mark. The wax model of the horse and the rider was completed by Verrocchio, the master of Leonardo da Vinci, and the casting was done by Leopardi. It bears the inscription: "BARTHOLOMEO COLLEONO, BERGOMENSI, OB MILITARE IMPERIUM OPTIME GESTUM," and is, perhaps, the most enduring monument of his fame.

The Visit of King Christian I. of Denmark to Bartolomeo Colleoni at Malpaga.

It only remains for us to give an account of the visit of Christian, King of Denmark, to Colleoni, at Malpaga, which is the immediate subject of the frescoes which accompany this work. Christian I., Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, Count

of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was a remarkable man. He was born in 1426, and was therefore at the time of his visit to Colleoni forty-eight years of age. He died in 1481. He was son of Count Dietrich, of Oldenburg, and Heiling, sister of Adolf VIII., Duke of Schleswig and Count of Holstein. He succeeded to the throne of Denmark in 1448, marrying the widow of the former King Christof. In 1450 he was recognized as King of Norway, which was then indissolubly bound to Denmark. He received the crown of Sweden by the defeat of Karl Knudson in 1457. On the death of his uncle Adolf in 1459, he laid claim to the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, and in March he concluded the celebrated Handfeste, a compact by which the two provinces were never to be divided, which became of great importance four centuries later. He lost the Swedish crown in 1467, which passed first to Karl Knudson and then to Sten Sture. His daughter, Margaret, married James, King of Scotland, in 1468, and brought with her as a dowry the Orkney and Shetland Islands.

An account of King Christian's famous pilgrimage to Rome in 1474, has been transcribed from a Holstein chronicle by Hvitfeld in his historical account of Christian I., printed at Copenhagen in 1599. The narrative, obviously written by an eye-witness, is so naive and picturesque that it has been thought worth while to give the whole of it in this place.

" In the year 1474, King Christian went to Rome, of his " great piety, pilgrimwise, to visit the church of St. Peter and " St. Paul as was the custom in those days.

" And that it may be known how such journey went off,

" I have here shortly introduced from the Holstein chronicle " the particulars of the said journey.

" In 1474 on the Sunday next after the Epiphany, which " was January 8th, King Christian travelled from Segeberg " to Reinfeld, and from thence Romewards.

" He took with him from his realms and principality " prelates, knights and their servants, together with 150 horses " besides the following princes and prelates, his Highness " Duke John of Saxony and Lauenburg, with sixteen horses, " the most noble Borckard, Count of Millingen and Barby " with eight horses; the most noble Louis, Count of Heiffen- " steen, with five horses; three doctors, to wit, Dr. Henry " Sanckensted, Dr. Herman Reinsberg, and Dr. John Hessen, " with ten horses. Also two heralds there and back.

" The King and his suite, as well as the other lords and " prelates had all put on black, and had caused to be embroi- " dered thereon white pilgrims' staves. Great honour was " shown to them on the journey by many princes, prelates, " and towns.

" The King, with the before-named lords and princes, " arrived on February 8th at Rothenburg on the Tauber, to the " marches whereof the Emperor Frederick sent to meet them, " his son Maximilian, with electors and other princes, he, " the Prince, had with him about five hundred horses, and " received the King of Denmark with imperial pomp. " There he remained with the Emperor seven days, and " spoke with him of divers matters. Among other things the " King said to the Emperor that there was a people in the " Roman realms hard by his own domains, called the Dit-

" marchers, who were most noxious to all their neighbours " round about and would submit to none, and he desired " the Emperor, of his imperial authority, to give unto him " this same people inasmuch as it was not good that this " people should live without court or prince, and he desired " moreover that his imperial majesty would graciously make " a duchy of the three lands, Holstein, Stormarch, and " Ditmarch.

" The Emperor made no difficulty about it, gave him " Ditmarch in fief, made of the three counties a duchy, and " invested the King with it as is proved by the golden bull, " and other duly sealed electoral letters of endowment which " were given to him.

" On February 24th, King Christian came to Innsbruck, " whither Duke Sigismund of Austria sent his consort, the " Scotch king's daughter, to meet him with three gilded " carriages, filled with dames and damsels, and five dames and " damsels on horseback. And he himself came to meet him " with 300 horses.

" And he let three pair of them run tilts before him on the " turf before he led him to his inn.

" The Duke showed him great honour, and the King " stayed with him three days and three nights.

" On March 11th, the King came to Brixia, and there met " him there the Venetian Governor with much people, both " on horse and on foot, and they led him into a palace in the " town with great pomp.

" On March 12th the King came to Malapago in Venetian " territory, and the Lord of Hoya came out to meet him with

" 500 horses, and led him into his castle. The next day he " gave the King an escort to the bounds of his domains with " loud war-cries of ' Hoya, Hoya ! '

" March 13th the King came to Tarvisium, where he " entered the territory of Duke Galeatzo of Milan, who sent " to meet him at his boundaries, 500 drengs on foot clad in " white, each one of whom had a little banner in his hand " upon a pole, and on one side was painted the King's " escutcheon, and on the other side the Duke's, they were to " receive the King with all pomp and loud war-cries. First " they all cried ' Christiano, Christiano de Dania,' and then " ' Galeatzo, Galeatzo,' and last of all ' Duca, Duca.' So they " kept on crying one after the other, till they came to " the town.

" And the Duke sent to meet him far beyond his borders, " his brother and his senate, and much people on horse and " foot. Last of all the Duke himself met him with much " people, knights, and squires ; the common people came " running out of Milan, and would see the King while he was " yet a good five miles off, and stood on both sides of the way " along which the King rode, so that one saw nothing but " people, and they all cried out, as has before been said of " the drengs.

" When he came to the town all the clergy were in proces- " sion at the gates, with mighty fine chants, and all the bells " were ringing, and the people of the city stood at their doors " dressed most gorgeously. All the streets through which the " King must ride were overhung with the arms of the King " and the Duke, and were draped above and below, and

" bestrewn with may and sweet herbs. So magnificently " was the King received by the Duke.

" The Duke gave the King 5,000 ducats and two mules " with gilded saddles, together with many pieces of gold and " silken stuffs. And the Duke caused to be borne before him " the keys of all his castles and towns whithersoever he came, " and paid all his tavern expenses. And he went with him by " ship to Pavia, and there he gave the King a necklace with a " sapphire as good as 1,000 ducats.

" They lay that night at Pavia, and the King dubbed two " of the Duke's lords knights.

" Thence the Duke made his people convey him by ship " to the marquisate of Mantua, Vedian, or Vitteliana; but the " horses went overland.

" All this honour and largesse the Duke displayed to the " King, to the end that he might on his return journey recon- " cile him with the Emperor, in whose disfavour he was, which " thing also happened.

" March 20th the King came to Vedian, thither the Mar- " quis Louis of Mantua sent his son and his senate with many " horsemen to meet him, and welcomed him honourably. " The next day the King rode from Vedian, when the Marquis " came to the boundary to meet him with his consort Barbara, " the daughter of Queen Dorothy of Denmark's own sister, " and with much people, and received him right bravely. " And he stayed with the Marquis two nights.

" April 3rd the King rode to Aquapendent; thither sent " Pope Sixtus IV. two cardinals to meet him, who received " him there, and escorted him to Rome. There the Pope

" sent to meet the King all the cardinals, bishops, and pre-
" lates who were at Rome, besides the senate, the nobility,
" and the common folk, both on horse and foot.

" They brought the King through Rome to the Pope's
" palace, where he received him and his lords honourably, and
" gave his hand to the King, and the princes and prelates who
" were with him, and let them kiss his foot. This took place
" on the Wednesday before Easter, which was the 6th April.

" The King stayed at the Pope's palace, with twenty
" persons and twenty horses, for twenty-one days. And the
" rest of his people remained at the inns in the town.

" When the Pope perceived that the King knew no Latin
" he was much amazed that such a goodly lord had not
" studied.

" On Maundy Thursday the Pope, in honour of his royal
" guest, gave his benediction to all who were personally pre-
" sent, as well as indulgence, remission of all their sins, and
" release from torments and purgatory.

" On Easter Day the Pope with his own hand adminis-
" tered the blessed sacrament to the King and his suite.

" On Monday the Pope placed in the King's hand the
" hallowed and consecrated rose for St. Peter's Monastery,
" and he carried it openly through the city of the Romans to
" the palace of the Cardinal ad vincula Petri, who had begged
" the King to be his guest, and all the cardinals, bishops,
" prelates, and the whole Court followed him on horse and foot.

" The Pope gave the King great gifts—to wit, a beautiful
" girdle, hose, and bonnet of cloth of gold; a mule with a
" gilded saddle; a gold stick, as good as 700 ducats, some

" gold crosses, and an agnus dei; a piece of the wood of the " holy cross, and manifold relics, indulgences, consecrated " neckerchiefs, handkerchiefs, and privileges and concessions " which he had demanded.

" The Pope also held the King free, both within and " beyond Rome, so far as his territories extended.

" The King brought with him to Rome three sorts of gifts " from his realm—to wit, dried herring, dried cod, and ermine, " whereof he beseemingly distributed to the Pope and the " cardinals.

" Cardinal Francis of Mantua sent to the King three " mules, each with two golden panniers and its own muleteer.

" Wednesday after Misericordias Domini, which was April " 27th, the King left Rome again, and the Pope sent two " cardinals to escort him over the border.

" May 3rd the King came to Florence, where he dubbed " two Florentines knights.

" May 6th he came to Bononia, where, in the King's " honour, Mag. Herman Reinsberger in the cathedral in the " daytime, and Mag. Johan Hessen at the King's inn in the " evening, at the King's request, were advanced to the degree " of Doctores, by the four chief doctors in the University there.

" May 9th he rode to Mantua, where he rested six nights. " The Marquis paid the King great honour. In particular he " held a tournament in his presence, which lasted two days, " whereat many were thrown, and over 100 spears broken.

" The King there knighted two noblemen, and gave the " Marquis the Order of the Elephant.

" May 23rd he came to Lacus Cumanus, where the Duke

" of Milan made ready ships to convey the King across the " Lake of Como, which is twelve miles long, and half a mile " broad.

" The King in particular had a beautiful ship, with a brave " and lofty tent therein.

" With the King were four singers and other musicians and " of provisions no lack.

" There were twelve other ships with soldiers therein, as " also the Duke's major-domo, with song and music and great " pomp.

" The soldiers escorting the King sailed in front and " behind as well as on both sides of his ships, and made great " pastime with their war-cries.

" And from many places along the lake came dames and " damsels who boarded the King's ship, sang songs in his " honour, and presented him with wheat bread and wine.

" June 3rd the King came to Augsburg, where were the " Emperor with the Electors and many other princes, who " were there for the King's sake and for divers other reasons, " requesting various things, among whom were many princes " desiring his counsel and good offices, wherefore also the " papal legate had come thither, there the King remained " with them seven and ten days.

" At that time there was a quarrel between Archbishop " Rupert of Cologne and the Chapter of the same city, " for which reason the Bishop had sought the protection of " Duke Charles of Burgundy, who was getting together great " armaments with the intent of besieging and sacking the " town of Nus which belonged to the Chapter.

" To prevent this the Emperor and the Electors, with the " royal and the papal legate, sent a stately legation to Duke " Charles, and diligently urged him to forbear from his intent " and let the matter be amicably arranged.

" Henry, Bishop of Munster, and Administrator of Bremen, " had at that time, in violation of the compact he had made " with the King before he set out for Rome, attacked his " brother, Count Gert of Oldenburg. For which cause the " King complained to the Emperor and the Electors, who " wrote to the Bishop, that he should recall his troops from " Oldenburg (failing which he should lose his fief) and abide " by the compact he had made with the King until he came " back again.

" The King composed the difference between the Emperor " and the Duke of Milan, as he had promised.

" July 1st, the King travelled with Margrave Albert from " Augsburg and came on July 3rd to Quoldsbach, where the " King remained with the Margrave seventeen nights. The " Margrave showed him great honour with tourneys, dancing, " singing, games and the chase.

" There the King received tidings that Bishop Henry " of Munster, in obedience to the Emperor's mandate, had " withdrawn his men from Oldenburg.

" Aug. 28th he came to Brunswick, and found there those " whom he had sent from Augsburg to the Duke of Burgundy. " They told him that he had besieged Nus.

" The King also reconciled Duke William's sons, William " and Frederick, Dukes of Brunswick, with Duke Magnus of " Mecklenburg, and with the Diocese of Hildesheim, who were

" all friends, but for a long time had had differences with each " other. There he lay five nights.

" On St. Bartholomew's Day the King came again to his " own abbey, Reinfeld, in Vagerland, safe and sound with all " his suite.

" On this journey, both going and coming, great honour " had been shown to the King by many princes, lords, " prelates, and towns. In many places he had free quarters, " yet he spent on this journey 2,500 Rhenish Gulden."

It will be seen from this account that the King arrived at Brescia on March 11th, reached Malpaga on the 12th, and left it for Milan on the next day. The German version of the chronicle says that he was received at Malpaga by the " Lord " of Koya," and that when he left he was saluted by cries of " Koya, Koya." It is difficult to explain this, but as Colleoni was called Coleo by his contemporaries, the word may have been a representation of what the shout sounded to uneducated ears.

The chronicler goes on to say that the " Lord of Hoya " gave King Christian an escort to the bounds of his dominions. This would have been probably to Covo and Antegnate which belonged to Colleoni :—" On March 13th the King came " to Tarviscium, where he entered territory of Duke Galeatzo " of Milan." Tarvisium is properly the ancient name of Treviso, but the King cannot have gone to Treviso, which was far out of his way, and which is not near the boundaries of Milan. Treviglio must be meant, which was in those times called Trevì. Indeed the German version has Trivigli. After leaving Milan the King went to Pavia where he took ship on

the river Po as far as "Vedian," now called Viadana in the territory of Guastalla. He reached Rome on April 6th and left it on April 27th. He came to Florence on May 3rd, and to Bologna, having crossed the Apennines on May 6th. On May 9th he rode to Mantua, rather more, one would think, than a day's journey, and stayed there six nights. The Marchioness of Mantua was Christian's sister, not his niece, and is rightly so called in the German version of the chronicle. We may presume that he left it on May 17th or 18th, and reached the lake of Como on May 23rd. This would allow time for a few days' visit to Malpaga, which is scarcely more than a days' ride from Lecco, passing Solza on the way. If this second visit took place it is a pity that no account of it has been preserved by the chronicler. It will be seen also that Spino especially mentions that this visit was paid "in "the summer season" and there would be a great difference in the climate of Bergamo in the second week of March and the third week of May.

Spino gives the following account of the visit of King Christian to Malpaga:—"Christian, King of Dacia, returning from his "pilgrimage to Rome wished to see Colleoni, and to visit him "at Malpaga before he departed from Italy. Bartolomeo re- "ceived him there with great and sumptuous preparations, "and entertained him with banquets, in tournaments, in hunts, "and other royal sports, that great King marvelling, that in "an almost solitary spot there should be so much magnificence "and splendour and a plentiful supply of all the choicest "things. But what appeared to Christian the most novel and "most delightful spectacle was the greeting which Barto-

" lomeo gave him. In order to leave the whole of his castle
" at liberty for the King and his suite, it was very numerous
" (and it was in the summer season), and to present at the
" same time the foreign king a specimen of the arms and mili-
" tary discipline of Italy, he formed at a little distance from
" Malpaga, in a plain by the side of the road by which the
" King travelled, the appearance of a real encampment with
" tents, ditches, and stockades. When the King approached,
" Bartolomeo came to meet him, mounted on a large courser,
" thoroughly equipped for war, as was Colleoni himself, fully
" armed like a general except his head, two squires following
" him, who carried his helmet and lance, and at a short interval
" his whole band of six hundred horses in battle array with
" his condottieri and captains of squadrons, all in the flower
" of their age, and most nobly armed and mounted, with
" banners flying to the bray of trumpets, as if he was really
" leading them to battle, a sight truly proud and marvellous.
" Christian had amongst his followers a Dacian, a man of re-
" markable and monstrous size. Few there were who dared,
" none was there who was able to overcome him in wrestling.
" The King took pleasure in exhibiting by him the ferocity
" and robustness of his nation. One day, when the King and
" Bartolomeo were present, this man had played with and
" conquered several opponents who had come to the unequal
" trial of strength with more courage than judgment. When
" everyone now declined the conflict, it came to pass that out-
" side the circle, amongst those who were looking at the sport
" was a mountaineer of our country, who on that day brought
" charcoal for the court. He was a young man five-and-

" twenty years old, with a body very solid and squarely made. " He observed that although the Dacian had the advantage " in size and bodily strength, yet he was wanting in mastery " and dexterity in the sport. Not being able to suffer that a " barbarian should vaunt himself with so much contempt for " his own countrymen, he said to himself, ' if he had to do " ' with me perhaps he would not conquer me.' This was " heard by someone who reported it to Bartolomeo Colleoni, " who then called him aside, examined him from head to foot, " and judged him capable of doing what he promised. He " had him stripped, cleaned up, and clothed nobly in military " dress. ' Go with courage,' he said, ' and if you bear yourself " ' valiantly these clothes shall be yours.' The charcoal " burner descended into the lists and engaged with the " Dacian. He parried for some time his extraordinary " strength with skilful feints, and suddenly seizing a good " opportunity he curved his head and his back and rushed at " his adversary. He then seized him under the haunches, " lifted him up and set him on the ground with his head down " and his feet in the air to the joyful shouting and applause of " all the bystanders. They laughed with still greater merri- " ment when Bartolomeo caused his dirty clothes to be " returned to the champion, who made a bundle of them, and " threw them round his neck and went off as if he were carry- " ing a noble trophy of his victory. Bartolomeo gave to the " King at his departure one of his suits of armour, a fine " and precious work, and he gave to all the King's servants " new garments of red and white which was his livery."

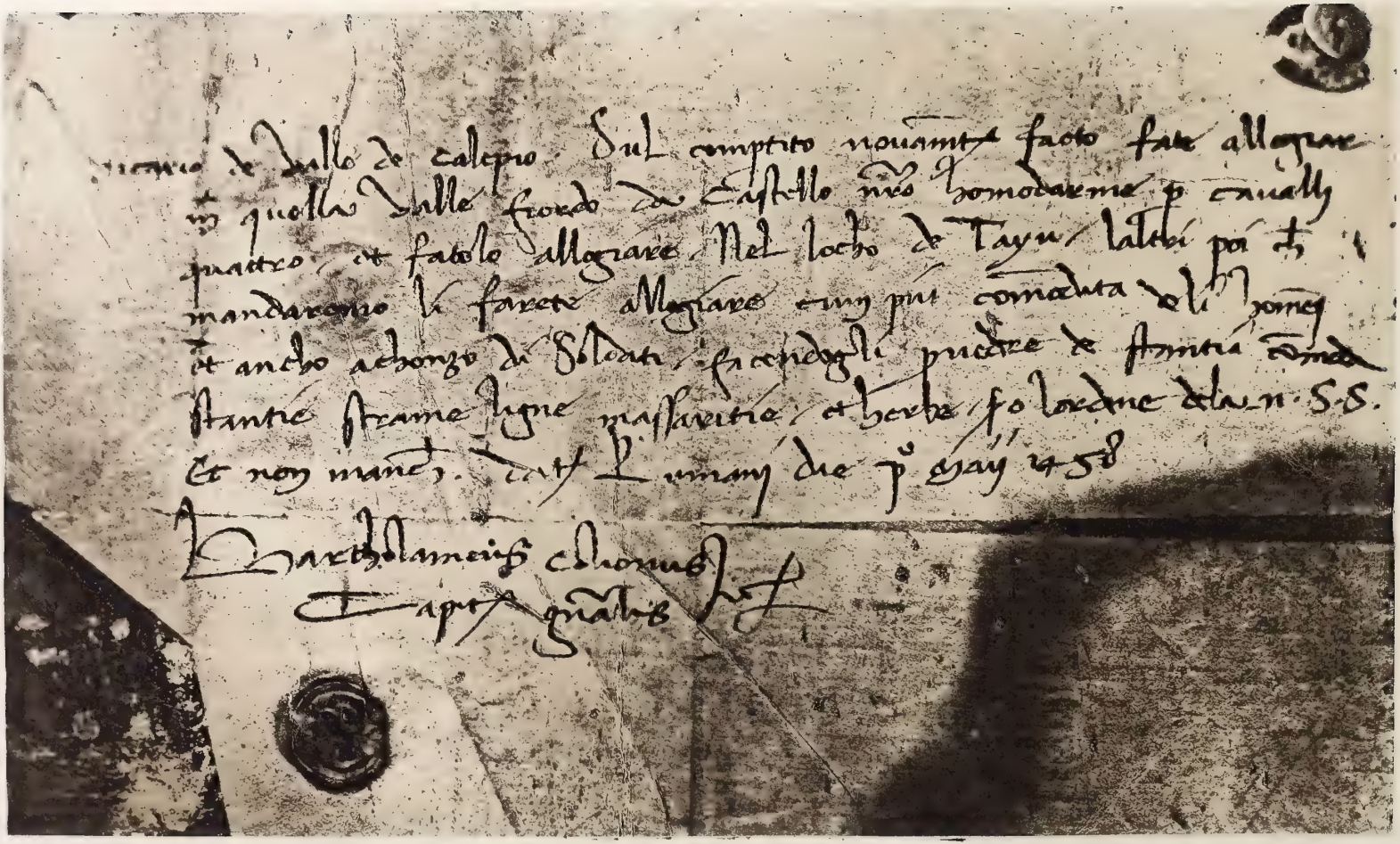
The pictures which accompany this volume give a repre-

sentation of this memorable visit, and they may be considered as, to a great extent, historically accurate, and certainly as representing the costumes of the time when they were painted.

The first of the series is that which is called "The Arrival of King Christian at Malpaga." We see the drawbridge of the castle much as it exists at the present day; over the doorway are the arms of Colleoni, and beneath them the lions of Denmark. Round the castle are the tents of which Spino speaks. Colleoni, clad in coat of mail, with a rich surcoat charged with his own bearings, wearing a cap on his head instead of a helmet, receives the King of Denmark. Close by are a body of men-at-arms, a troop of Colleoni's, with two banners bearing his well-known devices. It is impossible to identify the various figures, but we may suppose that the horseman with the plumed cap in Colleoni's colours was one of his principal Condottieri, or perhaps a Martinengo, one of his sons-in-law. Behind him a mailed figure riding a prancing steed bears aloft the banner of Denmark, and the figure still further to the left, mounted on a white horse with a fur coat over his suit of mail, and a staff in his hand, may be the Duke of Lauenburg, who was Christian's principal companion on his pilgrimage. The little boy on a white charger to the right of the picture is probably one of Colleoni's grandchildren. The whole scene is full of vigour and animation. It is impossible to say in what order the events connected with King Christian's stay at Malpaga took place. We will, however, next describe the scene of the tournament. The lists are obviously arranged just outside the castle of

Malpaga. There is a view of Bergamo in the distance easily recognizable by anyone who knows it in its present condition. The lists are composed of two narrow gangways parallel to each other, divided by a strong barrier of planks, so that the contending knights might reach each other with their spears without the horses colliding. The hills in the distance are still apparently covered with snow. It is impossible to say who all the people represented are. The two knights charging in the lists both bear the Colleoni badge. At the side of the lists is a small tribune for the judges, five in number; from this tribune, suspended on a pole, hangs a handsome piece of gold brocade, the customary prize of those days. The King of Denmark surveys the scene from a *loggia* at the back, Colleoni seated by his side. The ladies occupy one half of the tribune, and the men the other.

Another incident is represented by the Hunt, a chromo-lithograph of which has been published by the Society. It takes place on the banks of a river, either the Serio or the Cherio, or perhaps the Adda, in the neighbourhood of Solza. The various forms of the chase are represented at the same time. A little dog is starting some wild fowl to be pursued by a hawk, which a mounted attendant holds on his wrist. In the sky a hawk is seen striking its prey. In one part of the meadow the deer hounds have run down a stag, which men are preparing to despatch with their spears. In another part greyhounds are coursing a hare. Two squires in Colleoni's livery hold a greyhound in slip. King Christian is represented as a noble figure riding on a black horse, he has a grey beard, and looks older than his forty-eight years.



COPY OF THE LETTER IN COLLEONI'S AUTOGRAPH.

WITH ABBREVIATIONS.

Vicario de Valle de Calepio. Sul comp̃tito novam̃t facto fate allogiare in quella Valle Fiordo da Castello ñro homo darme p cavalli quattro, et fatelo allogiare nel locho de Tayu. latri poi ch̃ manderemo li farete allogiare con più comodita de li' hom̃ej et ancho Achonzo de soldati, facendogli p̃vedere de stantia cõmo, stantie strame legne massaritie et herbe sõ lordine de la ñ. S.S. et non manch̃. Dat̃ Rumanj die p°. maij 1458.

Bartholameus Colionus
Capits gñalis.

WITHOUT ABBREVIATIONS.

Vicario de Valle de Calepio. Sul compartito novamente facto fate allogiare in quella valle Fiordo da Castello nostro homo d'arme per cavalli quattro, et fatelo allogiare nel locho de Tayu (*Tagliuno*). L'altri poi che manderemo li farete allogiare con più comodità de l'altri homeni et ancho Aconzo de soldati, facendogli provedere de stantia comoda, stantie strame legne massaritie et herbe secondo l'hordine de la nostra S.S. et non mancherete. Datum Rumanj die primo Maij 1458.

Bartholomeus Colionus
Capitaneus Generalis.

He justifies the expression used towards him by Pope Sixtus IV., "Pulchra bestia si non careret loquela," referring to his ignorance of the Latin language. Colleoni rides by his side. It may be mentioned that in this picture Colleoni's attendants wear a parti-coloured uniform, one half of the dress being striped with blue and white. This may have reference to the arms of Burgundy, which Colleoni was entitled to assume by special license. The Burgundy colours are, however, blue and gold.

Another interesting scene is the banquet, held in the very room in which these frescoes are now extant. The King sits alone at the head of the table, the other guests being placed with Colleoni himself, below the triangular salt-cellar. By his side stands the grey-bearded seneschal, whose name we know —Alberto dei Quarenghi—with a napkin over his shoulder, carving a bird. Colleoni is represented in profile—a striking likeness. The lady opposite, dressed in the Colleoni colours, is one of his daughters, married to a Martinengo. The dignified figure in the plumed hat is, perhaps, the Duke of Lauenburg. The little boy seated on his mother's knee is one of Colleoni's grandchildren. Behind, three men are blowing shawms, and one a bagpipe; this is probably to announce the arrival of a new course, which is being brought in by liveried servants, preceded by the butler with a staff. The walls are covered with tapestry, in alternate stripes of blue and white. Three bottles of wine in picturesque decanters stand before the King.

Another scene represents the distribution of liveries to the King's attendants, as described by Spino. This took place in

the courtyard of the castle, probably on the morning of the King's departure. Colleoni is seated by a table on which the liveries are displayed, and is represented as giving one to a man who is taking off his hat in acknowledgment. At the other end of the picture the liveries are being packed up in readiness for the journey. The King of Denmark is not present. It was a lucky circumstance that Colleoni's own colours were the same as those of Denmark—red and white. A conspicuous figure in the central group is the King's trumpeter. From his trumpet, which is suspended over his shoulders, hangs the blazon of the Danish arms. The floor is composed of red brick, as is customary in Italian houses. Two staircases lead up from the courtyard, and could doubtless be identified at the present day.

The last picture of the series is the Departure of King Christian from Malpaga. A noble company of men-at-arms in full martial equipment rides along the hollow road. The King's trumpeter, with the three lions of Denmark, is a conspicuous object, on a white horse. Behind him two of Colleoni's trumpeters are sounding a fanfare; we know the name of one of them—Lorenzo della Scarperia. King Christian and his host ride side by side. A Dane in fur mantle and cap is crossing the drawbridge, while another company of men-at-arms is waiting to close the procession.

Another picture, representing the wrestling match between the Danish giant and the Bergamasque charcoal burner, decorates the walls of the banqueting hall at Malpaga; but it is so much defaced that it could not be copied.

These pictures, whatever may be their artistic merit, are

extremely interesting, as showing the manners and customs of the time; and we cannot but feel that an age which could have crowded into so short a space so many scenes replete with life and colour, with dignity and magnificence, must be worthy of our study, and in many respects of our imitation. Romanino, the reputed author of the frescoes, was born ten years after the events which they portray. He must, therefore, have worked from the family records of what occurred, although in his own age the life of chivalry was not altogether dead. It is more probable, however, that they were executed by one of his pupils, and in any case they have been since injudiciously repainted and restored.

THE END.

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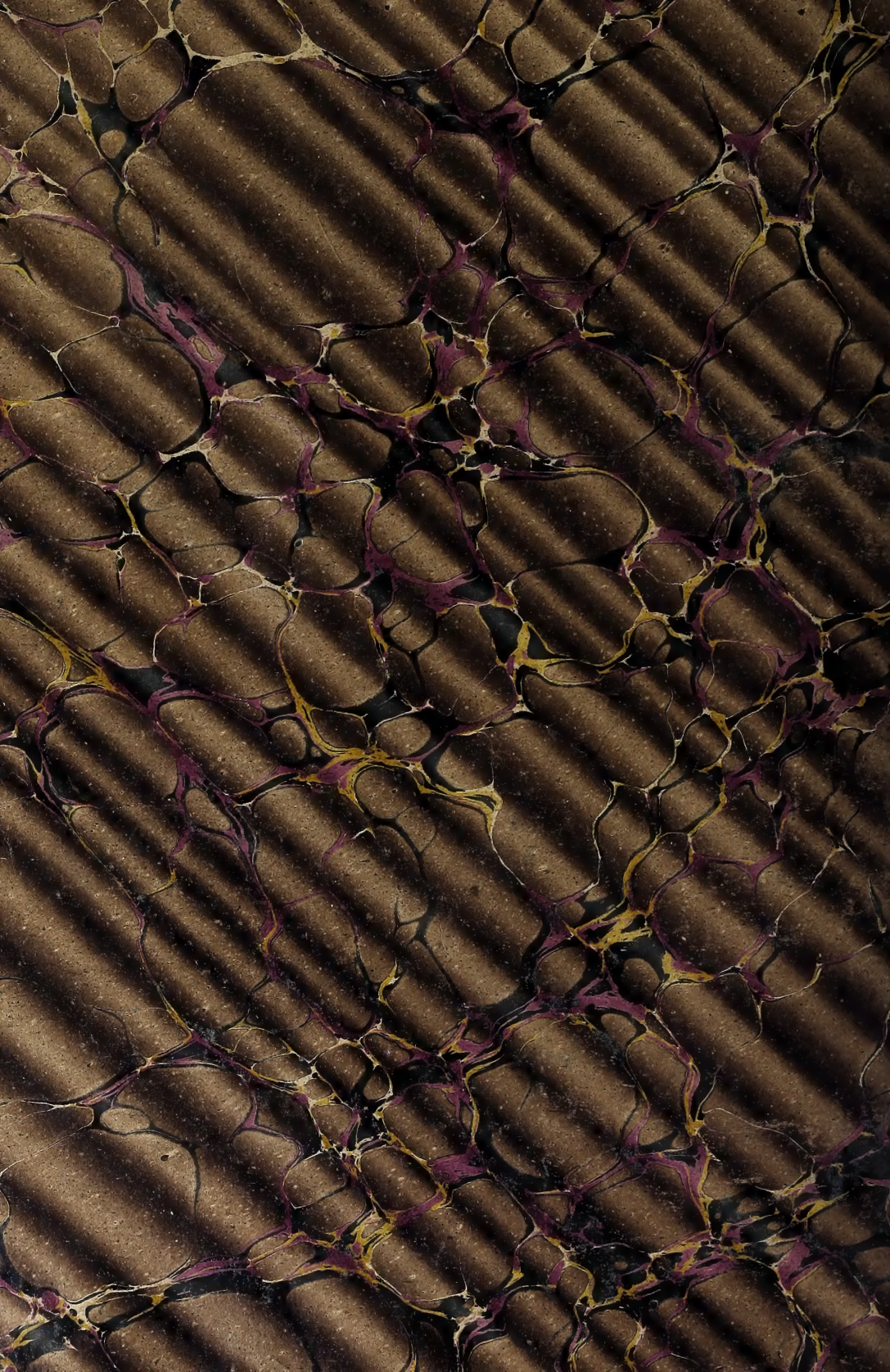

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